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CORRESPONDENCE

OF

JOHN, FOURTH DUKE OF BEDFORD:

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AN INTRODUCTION,

BY LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

VOL. III.

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INTRODUCTION.

In the former volumes of the correspondence of the Duke of Bedford, the reign of George the Second was brought to a close.

The period which elapsed between the fall of Sir Robert Walpole and the reign of George the Third was the age of small factions. The great Whig party, having had from the accession of the House of Hanover complete possession of power, broke into many little sections, divided from each other by personal predilections, and not by distinct lines of policy. Thus their quarrels and their friendships were precarious and capricious: there was no reason why any one statesman should not join with any other statesman to whom he had been the week before most opposed; nor, to say the truth, was there any great question in dispute, like the Revolution settlement, or the American War, or the French War, upon which parties widely separated in opinion, could take their stand.

The cohesion of politicians, thus loose and slight, became the sport of secret intrigue, of interested

cabal, of sudden resentments, and discordant tempers. Had the character of Mr. Pitt been more conciliatory, his great qualities might have rallied around him a national party. We have noticed, in a former volume, the defects which prevented a union equally desirable for his own fame, and the public welfare. We shall see in the present volume fresh instances of his unbending ambition and sullen discontent; the bright flashes of genius, and the darkening cloud of infirmity.

Neither did there exist any large atmosphere of public opinion, in which politicians moved. In the confined space, from which the air was excluded, the guinea and the feather were of equal weight.

In this state of parties George the Third ascended the throne.

Upon his accession, the nation expected, but did not desire, to see a marked change in the policy of the State. The influence of the Princess Dowàger over the young King, and the Tory predilections of Lord Bute, her chief councillor, made the world, and especially the curious part of it, watch with interest the beginnings of the new reign. But the young Sovereign was not enterprising or precipitate, and Lord Bute hesitated on the threshold of power. The first day of the new reign was significant, though not decisive. Mr. Pitt, the Secretary of State, was kept two hours waiting before the

King admitted him to his royal presence. The Duke of Newcastle, who came from Claremont on a hasty summons, was immediately received, and graciously informed that he might retain his office of First Lord of the Treasury. Mr. Pitt had afterwards an interview with Lord Bute. The favourite endeavoured to renew his former connection with Mr. Pitt, and offered him, with certain reserves, his support with the King. Mr. Pitt, on his side, guarded and resentful, intimated, amidst many professions of loyalty, that less than the entire direction of the war would not satisfy him. They both spoke in measured terms, and separated without cordiality.*

Lord Bute appears to have thought that he could govern a constitutional monarchy, as a favourite courtier might govern a despotic state, solely by the will of the Prince. He wished to glide upon the scene without ostentation, and unfold gradually his pretensions and his powers. But the execution of such a scheme was dangerous, and might prove, as it did prove, fatal to his creeping ambition. He entertained a design of becoming Secretary of State, by making Lord Holderness pretend to quarrel with his colleagues, and resign in apparent anger. But this indirect and cowardly expedient was not

* From a memorandum of Sir Gilbert Elliot.

relished even by Bubb Doddington, and served only to show how unequal his mind was to his fortune.* The Duke of Newcastle therefore remained First Lord of the Treasury, thwarted indeed by the underhand cunning of the favourite, but in the apparent possession of his former eminence. "There is nothing new under the sun," said Horace Walpole. "Nor under the grandson," replied George Selwyn.

Notwithstanding these outward signs, the Earl of Bute had conceived, and successfully instilled into his pupil, a new scheme of foreign and domestic policy. In regard to the former, while he was averse to a sudden abandonment of our continental allies, and a relaxation of our maritime exertions, he wished to calm down the warlike fervour of the nation, and to secure the repose of Europe by an honourable peace.

In respect to domestic affairs, he aimed at no less than the dissolution of party connections, and the supremacy of the King over the Parliament. "Mettre le Roy hors de page," says Mr. Burke, "became a sort of watchword. And it was constantly in the mouths of all the runners of the court, that nothing could preserve the balance of the constitution from being overturned by the rabble, or by a faction of the nobility, but to free the Sovereign effectually

* Lord Melcombe's Diary.

from that ministerial tyranny under which the royal dignity had been oppressed in the person of his Majesty's grandfather." *

The correspondence in this volume throws some additional light on the progress of both projects. It may be useful to the perusal of the letters which are contained in it, to give a sketch of the negotiation which led to the peace of Paris, and the struggle of parties which followed it.

The success of the Seven Years' War had been hitherto all that the nation could desire. The naval victories and American conquests of Mr. Pitt raised the martial fame of Great Britain to the highest point. The gallant and skilful resistance of the great Frederick inflamed the spirit of our countrymen, while our insular situation saved us from the dangers which followed his frequent reverses. But the cost of our exertions, the increase of our debt, and the proverbial uncertainty of war, made many wish for peace. While Mr. Pitt, therefore, still breathed nothing but conquests, not a few of his colleagues sighed for security. The nation in general was much disposed to peace, if it could be had on such terms as England would dictate, and Mr. Pitt would approve; but was neither willing to abandon any of our new possessions, nor to

* Thoughts on the Cause of the present Discontents.

thwart the popular minister under whose direction they had been acquired.

In this situation, the timidity of Lord Bute, and the weakness of the Duke of Newcastle, were but a light counterpoise to the capacity and resolution of their imperious colleague. Mr. Pitt himself spoke with some contempt of the men who opposed him, and with a natural confidence of the superior weight of his own opinion. In these circumstances, the courage of the Duke of Bedford enabled him to exercise great influence in the deliberations of the Council.

Mr. Stanley had been sent to Paris early in the year 1761. The French offered to treat on the basis of the *uti possidetis;* namely, that each party should retain its conquests. Nothing could be more advantageous to England. But, in relinquishing Canada, the French ministers asked to have some place assigned by us, on the coast of Cape Breton or Newfoundland, to dry their fish.* Upon this point Mr. Pitt argued strongly that it was unwise to leave France in possession of the means of restoring her naval power; that, with a fishery in the Gulph of the St. Lawrence, she would have the means of recruiting her marine, and would soon again contend with England for supremacy on the

* See this vol., p. 21.

ocean. He looked to the expected conquest of Martinique for a complete destruction of the colonial power of France; and he urged the cabinet to gather the fruits of victory, and deprive our formidable rivals of the nursery of their fleets, to be again met in the seas with hazard, in some future war. Lord Bute appears to have thought that, with Canada, we might fairly claim the entire possession of the fisheries, to the exclusion of France. But the Duke of Bedford took a view completely opposite to that of Mr. Pitt. He doubted whether Martinique would be taken. But he asked whether this conquest, supposing it to take place, would be the means of obtaining a better peace than could then be secured, or induce the French to relinquish a right of fishery, without which they would cease to be a naval power? He asked whether a state, possessing a coast in the Channel and the Ocean extending from Dunkirk to the frontiers of Spain, and in the Mediterranean from the frontiers of Spain to those of Italy, could be expected to make such a sacrifice? "Indeed, my Lord," he continues, addressing Lord Bute, "the endeavouring to drive France entirely out of any naval power, is fighting against nature, and can tend to no one good to this country; but, on the contrary, must unite all the naval powers of Europe to enter into a confederacy against us, as

adopting a system — viz., that of a monopoly of all naval power — which would be at least as dangerous to the liberties of Europe, as that of Louis the Fourteenth was, which drew almost all Europe upon his back."

Mr. Pitt was supported by the City of London, which instructed its members "to oppose all attempts for giving up such places as may tend to lessen our present security, or by restoring the naval power of France, render us subject to fresh hostilities from our *natural enemy;* particularly that the sole and exclusive right of our acquisitions in North America, and the fisheries, be preserved to us."

Upon this point, and that of the abandonment of the King of Prussia, the objections to the peace of 1763 mainly rest. With respect to other parts of the Treaty we shall see that there is nothing of any weight to be alleged against the Peace. Let us therefore consider these two objections.

The French ministry, though sorely pressed by the war, seem to have been determined to refuse the terms dictated by Mr. Pitt, on the subject of the fisheries. Was it necessary to continue the hazards, the cost, the miseries of war, for the sake of excluding France from the banks of Newfoundland? Is it not clear that it would have been very difficult, after the capture of Martinique and

Guadaloupe, to make any further impression on a country of such abundant resources, so compact in form, so warlike in temper, so rich in men? Is it not likewise evident that an attempt to drive France from the sea was likely to bring the Northern Powers to her rescue as the vindicators of the balance of maritime power? The refusal of advantageous terms of peace at Gertruydenberg, had enabled Louis the Fourteenth to end the Succession War on far better conditions than he there offered: the rejection of the terms now attainable might produce strong national resentment in France; and the French in their turn might "conquer America in Germany." Great material advantages, Canada, Minorca, Bengal; a large increase of naval and military power, such were the advantages within reach of England. Was it for any doubtful gain that blood was to flow in the four quarters of the world, and the blessings of peace to be rejected?

The other main objection to the negotiations of 1762 rests upon the alleged abandonment of the King of Prussia. Let us first clear this question of the confusion of ordinary misapprehension. First, England had no positive stipulation with Prussia, by which the one power was debarred from making peace without the other. The treaties which bound England to that country were either general, concerning the admission of foreign troops

into the empire, or temporary, securing to Prussia subsidies for a limited period for the purposes of the war. Secondly, Frederick was a prince who, whether engaged by treaty or not, never held himself bound by any ties which were inconvenient or embarrassing. He had lately entered into engagements with Russia, without in any way disturbing himself with a consideration of the interests of England. Nor was he at any time averse to a separate peace with Austria, on the ground that his treaties prevented his abandonment of his ally. Thirdly, The negotiation of England implied a determination not to leave Prussia single-handed to cope with Austria, France, and Russia. Russia had of her own accord withdrawn from the contest. France was either to assist Austria, on the footing that England might on her side assist Prussia, or, as it was afterwards much more fairly and wisely agreed, both were to withdraw from the war in Germany. Thus Frederick was left to contend with a power whose military leaders he had repeatedly defeated, whose territory he had more than once invaded, and whose power he had confidently defied. The most probable event was that which actually took place; namely, that he would retain his conquests, and that Maria Theresa, unsupported by France, would relinquish her hereditary province of Silesia. Nothing, indeed, but

the French alliance, contrived with the utmost artifice, and obtained by persevering flattery to Mme. de Pompadour, had given Austrian statesmen the courage to encounter the military genius of the great Frederick.

But, it must be confessed, that although the King of Prussia had no ground of complaint as to substance, he had much reason to resent the treatment he received as to form. The French ministers insisted on the first preliminaries being kept secret from him; and the English ministers improperly complied with this injunction. The consequence was an alienation of Prussia from England, during the remainder of the reign of Frederick. The Duke of Bedford was as much to blame as Lord Bute on this subject.

The papers in this volume show how far in other respects he maintained the dignity and guarded the interests of his country. He seems to have acted from the moment of his arrival at Paris, in the belief that the French ministers were sincere in their desires for peace, and to have resolved to meet them in a spirit of frankness and fairness. But he obstinately contested every point upon which he thought his country had an interest of importance. He took care to have the province of Canada defined in a manner which Mr. Pitt, the opponent of the

peace, declared was better than that which he had conceived. He reasoned with the French ministers in very long discussions (one of them nine hours in length), and repelled every attempt made by them to improve upon the general terms agreed upon by advantages in detail. He took care that the right of the French to fish on the banks of Newfoundland should be a concurrent and not an exclusive right. He insisted that Spain should surrender altogether any claim to those fisheries, at the same time that he took care to assert the right of England under treaty to have the produce and manufactures of this country and her colonies admitted into Spain on the same terms as the most favoured nations.

The preliminaries were signed, and the work seemed to be complete. England gave back to France and Spain, Belle-isle, Guadaloupe, Martinique, Havannah; she obtained Canada and the whole left bank of the Mississippi, except New Orleans; and in the West Indies, Dominica, Grenada, St. Vincent's, and Tobago; in Europe the restoration of Minorca; in Africa, Senegal.

These acquisitions were immense, but the work was not yet complete. Between the signature of the preliminaries and that of the definitive treaty, a matter of considerable difficulty arose. The East

India Company of England had framed an article to secure their conquests in the East Indies against the East India Company of France. The Duke of Bedford had proposed the article thus framed, and it had been accepted by the French ministers. It was inserted in the preliminaries. The East India Company afterwards discovered that a large territory would thus be lost to them, in consequence of their having inserted the period of the breaking out of the war in 1749, instead of the commencement of the year 1749. The Duke of Bedford was instructed to propose this change. He stated the difficulty of changing an article which was in the express terms proposed by the East India Company; but having been satisfied, from private information, that the territory in question had been acquired by M. Dupleix, in consequence of warlike operations in the commencement of 1749, preceding the war between the two nations, he no longer hesitated to insist upon the change proposed. The French ministers demurred. The Duke of Bedford said, in that case he could only demand his passports, and go at once to London, and lay his case before Parliament. The Duc de Choiseul knew his firmness, respected his straightforward character, and yielded the point.

If this account of the peace is well founded, the war with Spain, which was the immediate cause of

Mr. Pitt's resignation, was not the main ground of difference between that great minister and the majority of the cabinet. He had avowed that, in his opinion, no peace ought to be concluded with France, until she consented to give up the fishery of Newfoundland, the chief nursery of her seamen. The Duke of Bedford, on the other hand, persuaded Lord Bute and the Duke of Newcastle that it was neither reasonable nor practicable to deprive France of the means of supplying her navy with seamen, by the encouragement and maintenance of her fisheries. The policy of Mr. Pitt was the most daring—that of the Duke of Bedford the most prudent. With the one course, joined to the haughty language of Mr. Pitt, nothing but the most complete destruction of her resources would have induced France to consent to peace: with the other, England greatly augmented her dominions, husbanded her resources, and gained at the same time a character for moderation.

When the treaty arrived in London, Lord Granville, who after being the most turbulent, had become the most complying member of the cabinet, was sinking into the grave. Mr. Wood, the Under Secretary, brought him the treaty of peace. "I found him so languid," says this gentleman, "that I proposed postponing my business for another time; but he insisted that I should stay, saying it could

not prolong his life to neglect his duty. He then desired to hear the treaty read, to which he listened with great attention, and recovered spirits enough to declare the approbation of a dying statesman (I use his own words) on the most glorious war and the most honourable peace this nation ever saw." *

But whatever might be the calm judgment of a statesman, the power of Lord Bute received a great blow from the signature of the peace of Paris. The conquering soldier could not bear to be stopped in his career: a nation proud of its victories bore with indignation the dismissal of the minister who had organised success, and the restoration of any part of its conquests to a defeated enemy. The Duke of Bedford was hissed in the streets of London; Lord Bute was every where reviled, as if he had sacrificed for his own advantage all the fruits of victory and conquest.†

The mode in which the negotiation was conducted by the Duke of Bedford, will be seen in his corre-

* Essay on the original Genius and Writings of Homer.

† The press also sent forth its contribution in abuse of the peace and the peace-makers; and many of the tracts published on the occasion are preserved in the British Museum. The absence of argument in them is very remarkable. On the other hand, no French writer of any reputation, except Voltaire, who was a personal friend of the Choiseuls, has mentioned the Peace otherwise than as most injurious to the interests of France and disgraceful to the administration. The Duc de Praslin, in a private letter to the Duc de Nivernois, admits it to be "a bad peace," and only to be defended by the necessities of the country.

spondence. His despatches appear to me to be creditable to his industry and judgment; at all events they afford better materials than have yet been given to the world, for arriving at an impartial opinion on the merits of the peace of Paris.

The other scheme which occupied the King and Lord Bute, was a plan for breaking the power of the Whig aristocracy, who had placed and maintained the House of Hanover on the throne. Mr. Adolphus, who was well informed of the politics of the Court, after stating the dependence to which the two first Hanoverian Sovereigns had been reduced, thus proceeds: "But the new King being exempt from foreign partialities, ascending the throne at a period when the claims of the exiled family were fallen into contempt, was enabled to emancipate himself from the restraint to which his ancestors had submitted. The Earl of Bute formed the plan of breaking the phalanx, which constituted and supported the ministry, and of securing the independence of the crown, by a moderate exertion of the royal prerogative." Sir Gilbert Elliot, writing to his father, in June 1762, says: "If we either make peace, or go on successfully, the loud clamours attempted to be raised, must prove as ineffectual as they are impudent, and as yet without pretence. If calamity should come, we shall have probably opposition to struggle with; nor is it to be ex-

pected that, in such critical times, *ancient systems of power will fall to the ground without a struggle.*"*

This view of the young King's intentions is confirmed by his own letters to Lord Chatham, during the disastrous and disgraceful administration of 1766–7. Thus on Mr. Pitt's being created an Earl:—"I know the Earl of Chatham will zealously give his aid towards *destroying all party distinctions*, and restoring that subordination to Government, which can alone preserve that inestimable blessing, liberty, from degenerating into licentiousness."†

Then, on the refusal of Lord Gower to take office, without including others of the Bedford party, the King writes: "This hour demands a due firmness; 'tis that has already dismayed all the hopes of those ust retired, and will, I am confident, show the Bedfords of what little consequence they also are. A contrary conduct would at once overturn the very end proposed at the formation of the present administration; for to rout out the present method of parties banding together, can only be obtained by a withstanding their unjust demands, as well as the engaging able men, be their private connections where they will."‡

* Minto MSS. 24th June, 1762.

† The King to Mr. Pitt, July 29. 1766.

‡ The King to the Earl of Chatham, Dec. 2. 1766.

So on the defeat of the Ministry in the House of Commons, the King declares: "I do not think it fair to detain you longer, but cannot conclude without expressing my reliance, that your firmness will be encouraged with redoubled ardour to withstand *that evil called connection*, after the extraordinary effect of Friday: as to myself, I own it has that effect on me."*

Again, "I am thoroughly resolved to encounter any difficulties rather than yield to faction."†

On the other hand, every statesman in turn denounced the new system. Lord Chatham, when not engaged on the side of the Court, spoke with indignation of an influence behind the Throne greater than the Throne itself. Mr. Grenville declared he would not hold power at the will of a set of Janizaries, who might at any moment be ordered to put the bowstring round his neck. The Duke of Bedford protested in the closet against the power of Lord Bute, and many years afterwards declared to his friends, that the maxim of *Divide et Impera* had been the rule of the Court. Mr. Burke, in the name of the Rockingham party, exposed the whole scheme in his masterly pamphlet. Even Mr. Wedderburn, when ill with the Court, complained

* The King to the Earl of Chatham, March 3. 1767.

† The King to the Earl of Chatham, June 25. 1767.

in the House of Commons of "the well-known secret influence."

The letters of the King, the letters of Sir Gilbert Elliot, the friend of Lord Bute, the statement of Mr. Adolphus, who on many points is singularly accurate, all corroborate the general view taken by Mr. Burke, in the "Thoughts on the Causes of the present Discontents." Not that the plan of Lord Bute and his royal pupil was of so systematic a character, nor the government to be subverted of so beneficent a nature, as the great Whig statesman portrayed to the world; but that the project of restoring to the Crown that absolute direction and control which Charles the First and James the Second had been forced to relinquish, and from which George the First, and George the Second, had quietly abstained, was entertained and attempted by George the Third, can hardly be doubted.

It must be owned, that the moment was in many respects eminently auspicious to the execution of such a plan. The Stuarts, as Mr. Adolphus remarks, had fallen into contempt; and the Whig families were no longer necessary to guard the parliamentary title of the House of Hanover. Let us add to this, that the Whigs were themselves broken into sections, separately weak, and too jealous of each other to combine. The Duke of Newcastle, the ancient chief of the party, had lowered himself by

folly, and his party by corruption. Lord Holland was hated, and could not stand alone; Mr. Pitt was haughty and self-willed, and had broken his connection with the other Whig chiefs; the Duke of Bedford, in his eagerness for peace, had acted with and under Lord Bute. Nor was the King deficient in the prudence and caution requisite for the conduct of a refined scheme.

A trifling incident which occurred on his accession, showed the power he had acquired over his countenance and manner. He had arranged beforehand with one of his grandfather's attendants, that a particular message or note should signify to him the death of George the Second. The note was brought to him when he was riding. He showed no emotion; but observing that his horse was lame, turned, his head homewards; when he got off his horse, he told the groom in a whisper that he had said the horse was lame, and desired he might not be contradicted.*

A trying temptation exhibited the King to his subjects in a most favourable light. His two predecessors arriving at the throne at a mature age, had given the example of a Court where immorality was combined with monotony, and vice reigned together with dulness. The young Prince was not insensible to the charms of beauty. His

* Walpole, Mem. of George III.

attentions to Lady Sarah Lennox were soon remarked, and there can be little doubt that her uncle, Lord Holland, entertained hopes of an alliance of the House of Richmond with the Throne. But these symptoms of a growing passion were speedily arrested: grave reasons of state were allowed to prevail, and a Princess of Mecklenburg Strelitz was invited to preside over a family, where a young Sovereign gave an example to his subjects of moral purity.

Such a Prince was well fitted to acquire an ascendant over a people attached to the domestic virtues, and unaccustomed to self-denial on the Throne.

Such were the circumstances favourable to the success of the plan: other circumstances were as powerful in counteracting its progress.

The first of these was the character of Lord Bute himself. He was not gifted with a very strong understanding, and the cultivation by which he had sought to improve it was derived from books, rather than the converse of men. Frederick Prince of Wales said of him, that he was very fit to be the Prime Minister of a small German Court, where there was no business. He had not entered into the discussions of Parliament as a debater, nor taken the measure of the flow and ebb of the tide of popular opinion. Parliamentary opposition surprised

and confounded his judgment; popular clamour overcame his resolution, and scared his ambition. With these faults of mind and temper, it is not to be wondered at, that he lightly broke with the Duke of Newcastle, his ready and convenient helpmate. The power of that veteran minister was silently taken away: if places were given, his opinion was not asked; if peers were created, he was not informed of the intention; even the Board of Treasury at which he presided was taught to thwart him. Yet the favourite who could thus wantonly provoke a powerful party had scarcely taken the reins into his hands, before he shrank from the conflict, and resigned his office.

The other circumstance which counteracted the royal plan, was the country of its promoter. Nothing was easier for men so reckless as Wilkes and Churchill, than to rouse the national antipathy against their fellow-subjects of the northern part of the island. It was in vain that the King wrote with his own hand, in the speech from the throne, "Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton." The contrast which he drew thus invidiously between himself and his deceased grandfather, did not avail him. Scotland took the place of Hanover in public odium. Churchill, in his "Prophecy of Famine," catered to the popular appetite for abuse of Scotchmen. Dr. Johnson could sit by

Wilkes, and bandy sarcasms at the poverty and barrenness of Scotland. So far did this prejudice operate, that Horace Walpole gives as a conclusive reason why Sir Gilbert Elliot should not lead the House of Commons, that he was a Scot.* The Duke of Bedford gave the same reason of exclusion from the office of Speaker to Mr. Forrester.

George the Third was too sagacious a man not to perceive the disadvantage to which the scheme was exposed by these circumstances. He tried, therefore, when Lord Bute fled from responsibility, to get rid of the odium which attached to his name and his country. In speaking of those times to his son, the Duke of York, he said that he never saw Lord Bute, after he left office, except once, when being with his mother, the Princess of Wales, in her garden at Kew, Lord Bute came out of a summer-house, where he had been purposely concealed. The King added that he effectually showed his displeasure at this intrusion of his former favourite. But however he might frown on the man, it was impossible to remove the influence, or shake off the odium, so long as he clung to the system which

* Sir Gilbert Elliot, on the day after Newcastle's resignation, writes to his father, Lord Minto, Chief Justice Clerk: "I believe there will be no open opposition to the King's Government by the great persons who have lately quitted. Clamour and private cabal we must expect; Scotch and Tory are the two circumstances endeavoured to be made the subjects of both, with doubts about the peace, and an affected concern for the Prussian cause."—Minto MSS.

Lord Bute had pursued. The very party which, under the name of King's friends, followed the Crown against every parliamentary minister in turn, had been formed by Lord Bute, and was either connected with him in politics, or came from the same obnoxious part of the kingdom.

Such being the advantages and the obstacles, the means of success and the resources for defence, let us next observe in what manner the projectors carried on their attack, and what public consequences followed from their proceedings.

When Lord Bute resolved to retire, he proposed to transfer the office of First Lord of the Treasury to Mr. George Grenville. No man appeared less fitted for the purposes of the Court. His life had been spent in a study, practical as well as theoretical, of the laws and constitution of his country. He is mentioned by Mr. Pitt, so early as 1747, as one who stood next to the leaders of party in knowledge of the business of the House of Commons.

He was bold and resolute in character, firm in maintaining his opinions, and little, perhaps too little, disposed to modify them for the sake of concert, or to renounce them when shown to be impracticable. Without the large conceptions of Mr. Pitt, he was equally removed from those lower views of interest which had turned Mr. Fox aside from the charge of the public weal to the care of his

private fortune. Forming to himself a rule characteristic of his love of method, he resolved to spend no more money in the periods he held office than in those he was unsalaried, in order, as he explained it, that he might be above the temptations of place for the sake of luxury or enjoyment. His integrity was equal to that of Mr. Pitt. But it must be owned that his severe attacks on the prodigality of that minister brought to mind the fact that for many years he sate silent as Treasurer of the Navy, suffering profusion to go unrebuked. His subsequent censure partook somewhat of an "envy of great Cæsar." He had been raised by Lord Bute to a cabinet office during the preparations for peace; had gone, from being Secretary of State, to the post of First Lord of the Admiralty, because he disapproved of some of the terms allowed to France, and had declined to take the leading part in defence of the treaty in the House of Commons against Mr. Pitt and his friends. His chief fault was that for which Mr. Burke has noted him, too great a reliance on the precedents on the file, and too obstinate an adherence to plans of government unwisely conceived and unfortunately pursued. This failing, again, arose in great part from a want of sympathy with the assertion of free principles, where no book could be quoted for his guidance. He could denounce with vehemence

any failure of vigour, and glow with indignation against an exertion of power not warranted by law. But where the confines of legality and liberty had not been defined, he sided with authority; and when a formal decision had been made, he mistook the fiction of parliamentary omnipotence for a reality of the English Constitution. His style of speaking was solid, argumentative, vigorous, but not exalted by fancy, like that of Mr. Pitt, nor quick and dexterous, like that of Mr. Fox, nor smooth and harmonious, like that of Lord Mansfield. Such was the new First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Lord Bute next applied to the Duke of Bedford. In a letter written in the beginning of April, he announced his own retirement, lamented the violence of the times, and implored the Duke to come to the assistance of his young Sovereign*, in the office of President of the Council. He stated that it was the King's intention to employ the Whigs, and place his chief dependence upon them. But the Duke of Bedford was not inclined to listen to these overtures. He stated, in reply, his unwillingness to accept of office; and even if that unwillingness were less, the hopelessness of maintaining successfully so weak an administration, especially when Lord Bute himself should have withdrawn.

* See this vol. p. 223.

He advised therefore that the great Whig families should be summoned, and an administration formed of their friends and connections.

Nothing could be more unpalatable than such advice. Still the weakness which the Duke had pointed out was felt; and the death of Lord Egremont, which happened soon after, made it necessary to hit on some new expedient for keeping the great Whig chiefs out of power. In this emergency the Duke of Bedford was again applied to, and a special agent was sent to Blenheim with orders to see the Duke secretly at Woodstock. This time the Duke advised that Mr. Pitt should be sent for, and asked to propose his own terms.

Lord Bute relished this counsel as little as the former. But seeing there was no remedy, he sent himself to Mr. Pitt, and consented that he should have an audience of the King, carefully concealing the fact, that the Duke of Bedford had advised this course.

The proposals made by Mr. Pitt were, according to the only accounts which were published, somewhat extraordinary. It is said that he not only desired to form a compact ministry of the principal Whigs of the kingdom, but that he refused to allow Mr. Grenville the office of Paymaster, and put an absolute veto on the Duke of Bedford, as well as all others who had been concerned in the peace of

Paris. It is to be lamented that a letter of Mr. Pitt relating to these transactions, has not been made public.* The interview ended with a declaration of the King, which broke off the negotiation: "Mr. Pitt, this will never do. My honour is concerned."

What is certain is, that the King, who had hitherto been so cautious and reserved, spoke openly of Mr. Pitt's conditions, and took pains to inflame the anger of the proscribed. In particular, he told Lord Hertford that "Mr. Pitt proscribed several, particularly his friend Lord Powis, had said little of Mr. Legge, and still less of the Duke of Grafton." He desired Lord Sandwich to inform the Duke of Bedford that Mr. Pitt would not even consent that he should hold a place in the Household.

* Mr. Wood, on the 3d of Sept. 1763, writes to Mr. Pitt: "The particular assertion which I wished to have communicated to you in person is, that you proscribe the Duke of Bedford, and all his close friends and connections, without any further thoughts of Lord Gower or Rigby, who were to be excluded, not let down; and that his Grace might some time hence have a place, tho' not of business. Lord Sandwich is gone yesterday to Woburn with this account, having been first referred for the truth of it to *the great person* to whom you explained yourself. Rigby, who told me this, added, it was not like you."

On the 6th, he writes again to Mr. Pitt: "The letter which you did me the honour of writing on the 3d, entirely justifies the opinion I had of that matter. I hope the cautious use I have made of what you say, in a letter to Rigby, will not be disapproved by you, as I did not venture to quote you. The whole expectations of the present half-formed administration are from the effect which their misrepresentations will have on the minds of people. The Duke of Bedford is to be in town this night to have the story, which was carried to Woburn, from its source, which is most indecently made responsible for exaggeration, indeed for contradiction."—Chatham Corr. vol. ii. p. 248. et seq.

Between these two letters is the *hiatus valde deflendus*, which Mr. Pitt's own letter might have supplied.

It seems not a little strange that the Duke of Bedford should advise the King to send for Mr. Pitt, and that Mr. Pitt's first condition should be the exclusion of the Duke of Bedford from the King's councils. What Mr. Pitt really said to the King is not yet known. But there is no reason to doubt the Duke's own assertion, that he did not wish for office.

His inclinations, however, were changed when he found himself proscribed. In the heat of his indignation, inflamed by the King's personal request, he accepted at once the office of President of the Council. But in resuming a place in the cabinet he insisted that Lord Bute should retire from the King's presence and councils; and this indeed was the absolute condition in which the administration stood.* Thus Lord Bute recommended the King to send for the Duke of Bedford, who proscribed Lord Bute; and the Duke of Bedford advised his Majesty to send for Mr. Pitt, who proscribed the Duke of Bedford. In this confusion of persons and parties, a ministry was created, which lasted for nearly two years. The fate of this Ministry was decided by their conduct on the Regency Bill. They very unwisely introduced the Bill without naming the Regent, or placing any limit on the King's nomination; and when the blot was hit, they

* See this vol. p. 250.

attempted to remedy it by placing a restriction on their master, which would have excluded the Princess Dowager. Their enemies combined to please the Court by the insertion of her name, and those who had called out the loudest against the influence of Lord Bute silently assented to a clause by which, in case of the King's death, Lord Bute would have been virtually Regent. Mr. Grenville showed on this occasion a want of his usual courage. If the Cabinet had agreed to exclude the Princess Dowager, he should have made it a vital question in the House of Commons, and abided by the result. According to analogy, the Queen Consort ought to have been the only person named in the Bill, and later Regency Acts have established this rule. The King could hardly have objected to a distinction for his wife, while he was justly offended at the marked exclusion of his mother.

The insertion of the name of the Princess by the Opposition could not heal the wound thus inflicted. There were other sources of weakness. Mr. Grenville had likewise made himself obnoxious by the paltry economy of refusing a grant of 20,000*l.* for some ground at Pimlico, overlooking Buckingham House, where the King and Queen resided; and the Duke of Bedford's dislike of Lord Bute made him jealous to excess of that nobleman's influence.

Such were the causes which shook to its foundation a Ministry which had unopposed, and almost unperceived, carried resolutions for imposing stamp duties on America. The impolicy of a measure which made the first breach between Great Britain and her North American provinces, sowed the seeds of civil war, and dismembered the empire, failed to attract attention, and in no way weakened the administration; but their want of regard to the Princess Dowager, and of liberality to the King in a matter affecting his private comfort, destroyed their power. Such were the fruits of the Bute system.

The decision of the King was now formed. He requested the Duke of Cumberland to enter into communication with Mr. Pitt, and endeavour to obtain his assistance. But this negotiation failed, Mr. Pitt declaring "he had no objection to go to St. James's if he could carry the constitution with him," but declining to act with the Earl of Northumberland, who, as a friend of Lord Bute, had been mentioned as First Lord of the Treasury.* The Grenville ministers, consisting of Mr. Grenville, the Lord Chancellor Northington, the Duke of Bedford, Lord Sandwich, and Lord Halifax, had a meeting in Downing Street, to consider whether they should continue in office. They agreed to do

* Adolphus.

so, on condition that Lord Bute should not be consulted, directly or indirectly; that his brother, Mr. Stuart Mackenzie, should be deprived of the conduct of the affairs of Scotland, and of the office of Keeper of the Privy Seal of that kingdom; and that Lord Granby should be placed at the head of the army. These conditions were carried by Mr. Grenville to the King. His Majesty said there was no question of Lord Bute; that as his uncle the Duke of Cumberland had been named as head of the army, it would not do to place another person there; and that he had promised Mr. Mackenzie the Privy Seal of Scotland for life. Mr. Grenville replied, "In that case, Sir, we must decline coming in." "No," said the King, "I won't on that account put the whole kingdom in confusion, and leave it without any government at all: but I'll tell you how that matter stands; that he has my royal word to continue in the office: and if you force me, from the situation of things, to violate my royal word, remember you are responsible for it, and not I." Upon that, Mr. Grenville said, "Sir, we must make some arrangement for Mr. Mackenzie." The King replied, "If I know any thing of him, he will give himself very little trouble about your arrangement for him."*

* In "Ellis's Original Letters" is a letter from Mr. Mackenzie himself, relating this transaction.

The Ministry then consented to remain, giving up the point of Lord Granby, and obtaining the dismissal of Mr. Stuart Mackenzie. They would have done better to have insisted on the appointment of Lord Granby, and to have left Mr. Mackenzie in his office, without the power of directing the affairs of Scotland; for although the King had properly no right to pledge himself, without advice, to give an office for life, yet the violation of a royal promise was a harsh condition, and unnecessary to the honour of the Ministry.

The arrangement thus made amounted only to a truce, until the King could persuade some one else to take the government. The Duke of Bedford, angry at the manifest want of support from the Court, asked for an audience of the King, before he left London for the summer. The interview took place on the 12th of June. The Duke reminded his Majesty of the terms on which the Ministry had consented to resume their offices, and asked whether the promise made to them had been kept; whether the reverse was not the fact? whether Lord Bute had not been favoured, and the friends of the Ministry discountenanced? Finally, he besought the King "to permit his authority and his favour to go together; and if the last could not be given to his present Ministers, to transfer to others that authority which must be useless in their hands,

unless so strengthened." The King said little, except that he had not seen Lord Bute. Such was the celebrated interview of which the libeller who wrote under the name of Junius has given so extravagant an account. After a version, in his own manner, of the Duke of Bedford's language, he says, the Duke left the King in convulsions. Horace Walpole, scarcely less of a caricaturist, says: "Invectives against the Princess were not spared; nor threats of bringing Lord Bute to the block." Mr. Burke, speaking from report, calls the behaviour of the Duke of Bedford "brutal."

It may excite some surprise in the reader to learn that the only authentic account of this interview is that contained in a letter of the Duke to his son-in-law, of which the substance has just been given, and in a memorandum written at the time to the same effect. It should be mentioned, also, that in the course of the very next Session of Parliament the King made overtures to the Duke of Bedford with a view to his restoration to office; that a few years afterwards he was received with the greatest favour at Court, and continued on the same terms to the end of his life.

After this assertion of facts, I do not hesitate to avow that the conduct of the Duke of Bedford appears to me to have been frank, manly, and constitutional. There appears no reason to doubt, that

from the commencement of the reign there was a party called the "King's friends," who attempted to exercise all real power, while the show of it only was left to the responsible Ministers; that on them all favour was bestowed, and by them the measures of the Court were directed: that while such was their influence, they kept in the back-ground, occupying permanently lucrative subordinate places, and leaving the labour and the risk of political affairs in the ostensible rulers of the country: that at a signal from the Court, any Minister was at once removed; and a subservient House of Commons were directed to transfer their votes to some other puppet, destined to hold a rank equally powerless, by a tenure equally precarious.

If there be truth in these delineations, it was surely the duty of an old counsellor of the Crown to warn the Sovereign of his danger; to implore him "to permit his authority and his favour to go together;" and either to invest his Ministers with the influence belonging to his royal station, or to produce in open daylight the secret depositaries of his confidence. By such conduct the Duke of Bedford showed that he well knew "the eternal difference between a true and sworn friend of the monarchy and a slippery sycophant of the Court."*

* Burke's Works, 4to. vol. i. p. 462.

The King, having resolved to keep his favour for his private friends and the Bute party, told the Chancellor that he considered the Duke of Bedford's remonstrance as a resignation; nor could it be considered unhandsome to his Ministers, after the alternative had been put to him, that he should take his choice of the course he preferred. He was resolved not to govern as George the First and George the Second had governed, by means of open parliamentary ministers.*

After a fruitless negotiation with Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple, Lord Rockingham was made First Lord of the Treasury, and Mr. Conway, Secretary of State, with the conduct of public business in the House of Commons. Lord Rockingham, who has had the good fortune to have his portrait set in diamonds by Mr. Burke, was a wise and honest man. But, from the first moment of its career, his ministry had the capital defect, that Mr. Conway, not being an orator, and Lord Rockingham hardly a speaker, the want of debating talent in Parliament stamped its character with weakness, and led all accurate

* Sir Gilbert Elliot, in a letter to his father, of the 13th June, 1765, says: "I can say little of public affairs; they continue in the same strange and unhappy state as they were in when I wrote last. It is impossible things can remain as they are: either some change must take place, or the authority of the great offices and countenance of the King must be more reconciled than they are at present. Mr. Grenville goes to Wotton and Stow; he sets out to-morrow..... I am of opinion that it can be but a short interval till either the present administration confirm their authority, or some alteration happens."—*MSS. Correspondence.*

observers to predict a brief existence to its authority.

Nor was the world deceived. The Stamp Act was repealed, and America was quieted for a year. General warrants were discountenanced, and England was soothed for the moment. Yet even during the discussions on the Stamp Act, the King told Lord Strange, who sedulously repeated the story, that he was not for the repeal. When the resignation of the Duke of Grafton made the Ministry still weaker, he bade them look for support to Lord Bute's friends. This they did not choose to do. They even hesitated to propose a grant for the King's brothers, which Lord Rockingham had promised the King, when Mr. Conway was out of town.

Thus insecure at Court, Lord Northington, who had learnt to know the weather by experience, told the King they could not go on, and repeated the same opinion to his colleagues.

Then was formed that famous Ministry of Lord Chatham, in which Lord Chatham was a cipher; a ministry which overturned his whole plan of policy; persecuted Wilkes till they had nearly raised a rebellion in England; contradicted their supposed chief in every step, and then contradicted and disavowed each other; taxed America, with Mr. Conway in office, the repealer of the Stamp Act, and still the nominal leader of the House of Commons; entered

into a conflict with the electors of Middlesex, against the opinion of Lord Camden, their Chancellor; and finally brought upon their heads the voice of Lord Chatham's thunder, when he in vain endeavoured to compose the waves which his own Æolus had lashed into fury.

One attempt was made, by concert and connection, to withstand the predominance of the Court. When the Duke of Grafton, in despair, asked for assistance from Lord Rockingham, that sound and firm statesman told him that he could only treat on the ground that the present administration was at an end. The King, driven to extremities, agreed to a letter in the Duke of Grafton's name, informing Lord Rockingham, that when he had a plan of administration to lay before the King, on a comprehensive basis, the King would admit him to an audience.

Had the parties been agreed among themselves, the opportunity had now arrived for breaking and dissolving the party of the King's friends. Lord Rockingham, the Duke of Newcastle, the Duke of Richmond, the Duke of Bedford, and Lord Temple, were ready to forego all other objects for the sake of forming a strong and united administration. The Dukes of Richmond and Bedford met Lord Rockingham and Mr. Dowdeswell at Newcastle House, for the purpose of settling the arrangements

to be proposed to the King. Unfortunately Mr. Grenville, instead of going to the meeting, gave the Duke of Bedford power to intimate his consent, provided the supremacy of this country over America were maintained. Lord Rockingham thought, truly enough, that this condition implied a censure of his former concessions. It probably implied, likewise, a pledge of future severity. The question of persons was as difficult to solve as that of measures. Lord Rockingham proposed Mr. Conway as leader in the House of Commons. The Duke of Bedford peremptorily refused his consent. Thus it appeared that this powerful confederacy was not agreed either upon measures or upon men, and it only remained that they should separate on amicable terms. This was done, and the King was overjoyed to find that the adversaries of the Court system had broken up their union without any effort on his part.

The Bedford party soon afterwards came into administration under the Duke of Grafton. The Duke himself, agreeably to his former declarations, declined office; and having obtained for Sandwich, Weymouth, and Rigby the offices they desired, his subsequent life was spent in comparative retirement.

George the Third may thus be considered to have

triumphed in the effort he had made to govern without party, and to make the favour of the Crown the chief qualification for office. Never were political connections so broken: never, since the days of the Stuarts, were the personal predilections of the King of so much value to a politician. The Duke of Newcastle, instead of leading a powerful party, could scarcely lead his own immediate connections, and the world reckoned him among a past generation; Lord Rockingham was separated from Lord Chatham; the Bedford party had dissolved their connection with Mr. Grenville; Mr. Conway, the Secretary of State of Lord Rockingham, remained in office under the Duke of Grafton, and forgot or opposed his old associates. The King's friends were always maintained, and the breath of their displeasure was fatal to the minister they disliked. Fifty small intriguers, Mr. Horace Walpole among the busiest, carried tales from one party to the other, inflamed animosities, betrayed confidences, assailed or thwarted the King, as their fancy or interest suggested. The question arises,—Was this dissolution of party favourable to the welfare of the country, and did it contribute to the comfort and happiness of the King?

The first consequence which may fairly be attributed to this system is the loss of America:—

Mr. Grenville's plan was rash and ill-considered, but Mr. Grenville would have acted with consistent vigour, and would have made America respect a minister who was honest, manly, and straightforward. Lord Rockingham removed the cause of discontent; and a careful attention not to provoke new disputes might have averted the bad effects of a concession to popular resistance. In this manner Sir Robert Walpole overcame the evils attendant upon his defeat on the excise scheme. But when taxation was succeeded by repeal, and that again by fresh taxation — when all was uncertainty, and all was weakness — when anger took the place of firmness, and fear was substituted for kindness, the enemies of England in America took courage. The King could not bear to yield his supremacy over America; his Ministers dreaded to provoke discontent in England — Charles Townshend fell into the temptation of getting a revenue from the colonies, and raised into fresh life a question upon which every thing might be hazarded, and scarcely any thing could be gained. The Court rushed into war without foresight, to gratify the obstinacy of the monarch; Lord North consented to be the tool to carry it on, against his own opinion, and the division of the empire was the fatal consequence of a departure from the principles of the Constitution.

Another consequence, which may no less clearly be traced to the system, was the public discontent in England excited by the treatment of Wilkes. No one can now consider Wilkes as any thing but a profligate spendthrift, without opinions or principles, religious or political; whose impudence far exceeded his talents, and who always meant licence when he cried liberty. When he had given up his trade as a demagogue, George the Third spoke to him one day of Serjeant Glyn, as of his friend: — "Oh, no! Sir, he was a Wilkite, which I never was." * To the same purport, walking in Covent Garden, when a market-woman, inspired by seeing him, called out, "Wilkes and liberty!" he cried, "Stop, you old fool, that's over long ago!"

Yet no one can approve of that spirit of violence which twice expelled Wilkes from the House of Commons, and, on his re-election, declared Mr. Luttrell, who was second on the poll, member for Middlesex.

It is no wonder that Lord Chatham and the friends of the constitution were alarmed at these proceedings. A disqualification by law is a notice to electors, that votes given to a disqualified person are thrown away. An expulsion by the House of

* Life of Lord Eldon.

Commons may be a fit punishment for conduct unbecoming a man of honour, or incompatible with the due discharge of the duties of a member. But if these two powers, viz., the power of the House of Commons to expel, and the power of Parliament to disqualify, are united in a ministerial majority of the House of Commons, it is evident that an obnoxious defender of the liberties of the people may be at any time excluded, and the freeholders of the kingdom deprived of their right of election. Lord Chatham, Lord Camden, Mr. Grenville, Mr. Burke, and all men of authority as friends of the constitution, loudly protested against this course. It had precedent in its favour; so had ship-money, and arbitrary imprisonment. But it was contrary to the spirit of freedom; and all the vileness of Wilkes's character could not excuse the violation of justice and liberty in his person.

Another consequence flowing naturally from the system, was the entire want of confidence among good men, who would naturally have acted together in public affairs. Thus we have the most strange combinations, and the most unexpected dissensions; Lord Rockingham deserted by Mr. Conway, and Lord Chatham abandoned by the Duke of Grafton; Lord Camden sitting in a cabinet, of whose acts he disapproved; the Duke of Bedford sepa-

rated from Mr. Grenville; all parties broken, all connection temporary and precarious.

But let us hear the effects of this policy described by writers who viewed them from opposite quarters. The first extract I shall give is from the History of Mr. Adolphus, who speaks the language of the Court.

"At the dissolution of the first parliament called by George the Third, the aspect of affairs presented no consolatory views to his mind. The King, from the beginning of his reign, had manifestly sought the advantage and honour of his people; yet such were the effects of a constant and acrimonious opposition, that not only the prudence of his measures, but the purity of his intentions, was doubted. At his accession he found a large portion of his subjects, conspicuous both for property and talent, excluded from all share in the government, and by an affected stigma rendered incapable of enjoying confidence, or rendering service to the Crown. He relieved them from this proscription, and sought, by abolishing party and national distinction, to reign, indeed, king and protector of all his people. This measure, so wise and just in itself, was productive of endless feuds and jealousies. Every introduction of a new servant, or family, occasioned dissatisfaction and disgust: the disappointed formed new parties, avowed new principles, and sought by

every device to distress and impede the operations of government. Thus so many successive ministries, who assumed the direction of public affairs, were all feeble and inefficient, while no single opposition was in itself strong or respectable. Every leader of a party commanded his share of influence, which, joined to the influence resulting from ministerial situation, was sufficient to procure a majority. But the Parliament itself, delivered to so many opposite leaders, making laws in one session, repealing them in the next, affirming a principle at one period, and retracting it at another, lost much of the respect and confidence which ought to flow from the people to their representatives." *

Let us now hear Mr. Burke, speaking of the same period, but in the sense of the Rockingham opposition.

" Nobody, I believe, will consider it merely as the language of spleen or disappointment, if I say, that there is something particularly alarming in the present conjunction. There is hardly a man in or out of power, who holds any other language. That Government is at once dreaded and contemned; that the laws are despoiled of all their respected and salutary terror; that their inaction is a subject of ridicule, and their exertion of abhorrence; that rank, and office, and title, and all the solemn plau-

* Adolphus, vol. i. p. 360.

sibilities of the world have lost reverence and effect; that our foreign politics are as much damaged as our domestic economy; that our dependencies are slackened in their affection, and loosened from their obedience; that we know neither how to yield, nor how to enforce; that hardly any thing above or below, abroad or at home, is sound and entire; but that disconnection and confusion, in offices, in parties, in families, in parliament, in the nation, prevail, beyond the disorders of any former time: these are facts universally admitted and lamented."*

So far the political philosopher scarcely differs, except in the vigour of his style, from the courtly writer. Let us now consult Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford, who hated the Court and the Rockingham party, and had his own somewhat peculiar predilections. He begins by describing Lord Mansfield as "by principle a tyrant;" Lord Holland as "cruel, revengeful, daring, subtle;" Grenville, though in principle a republican, as "bold, proud, dictatorial, and so self-willed, that he would have expected Liberty herself should be his first slave:" "The Bedford faction, except the Duke himself, as void of honour, honesty and virtue;" and the Scotch as lending their mischievous abilities towards the ruin of the constitution. After thus disposing of

* Burke's Works, 4to. vol. i. p. 493.

most of the principal leaders in the State, he comes to the Court: "All these individuals, or factions, I do not doubt accepted and fomented the disposition they found predominant in the Cabinet (the King's Cabinet), as they had severally access to it; and the contradictions which the King suffered in his ill-advised measures, riveted in him a thirst of delivering himself from control; and to be above control, he must be absolute. Thus, on the innate desire of unbounded power in all princes, was engrafted a hate to the freedom of the subject; and therefore, whether the King set out with a plan of extending his prerogative, or adopted it, his subsequent measures, as often as he had an opportunity of directing them himself, tended to the sole object of acting by his own will. Frequent convulsions did that pursuit occasion, and heavy mortifications on himself. On the nation it heaped disgrace, and brought it to the brink of ruin; and should the event be consonant to the King's wishes, of establishing the royal authority at home, it is most sure that the country will be so lowered, that the Sovereign will become as subject to the mandates of France as any little potentate in Europe." *

These deplorable effects have been traced by some to the character of George the Third. But it has been the fate of that Prince to have his faults

* Mem. of Geo. III. vol. iv. p. 127.

greatly exaggerated. Let us, for instance, take the following sketch by Lord Brougham: "In all that related to his kingly office, he was the slave of deep-rooted selfishness; and no feeling of a kindly nature ever was allowed access to his bosom, whenever his power was concerned, either in its maintenance, or in the manner of exercising it. In other respects he was a man of amiable dispositions, and few princes have been more exemplary in their domestic habits, or in the offices of private friendship. But the instant that his prerogative was concerned, or his bigotry interfered with, or his will thwarted, the most unbending pride, the most bitter animosity, the most calculating coldness of heart, the most unforgiving resentment took possession of his whole breast, and swayed it by turns." *

Let us now see the portraits which have been drawn both of the Princess of Wales and her son, in colours at once softer and more true to nature, by Lord Waldegrave, who was for some time Governor to the young Prince: —

"The Princess of Wales was reputed a woman of excellent sense by those who knew her very imperfectly; but in fact was one of those moderate geniuses, who with much natural dissimulation, a

* Statesmen of the Times of George III., vol. i. p. 6.

civil address, an assenting conversation, and few ideas of their own, can act with tolerable propriety, as long as they are conducted by wise and prudent councillors."

Next for the Prince, then entering his 21st year:—

"His parts, though not excellent, will be found very tolerable, if ever they are properly exercised. He is strictly honest, but wants that frank and open behaviour which makes honesty appear amiable. His religion is free from all hypocrisy, but is not of the most amiable sort; he has rather too much attention to the sins of his neighbour; he has spirit, but not of the active kind, and does not want resolution, but (it) is mixed with too much obstinacy. He has great command of his passions, and will seldom do wrong, except when he mistakes wrong for right; but as often as this shall happen, it will be difficult to undeceive him, because he is uncommonly indolent, and has strong prejudices.

* * * * * *

He has a kind of unhappiness in his temper, which if it be not conquered before it has taken too deep a root, will be the source of frequent anxiety. Whenever he is displeased, his anger does not break out with heat and violence, but he becomes sullen and silent, and retires to his closet; not to compose his mind by study and contemplation, but merely

to indulge the melancholy enjoyment of his own ill-humour. Even when the fit is ended, unfavourable symptoms too frequently return, which indicate that on certain occasions his Royal Highness has too correct a memory."*

In another place he says: "I found his Royal Highness uncommonly full of princely prejudices, contracted in the nursery, and improved by the society of bed-chamber women and pages of the back stairs."† Again: "During the course of the last year there has been indeed some alteration; the authority of the nursery has gradually declined, and the Earl of Bute, by the assistance of the mother, has now the entire confidence."‡

"The child was father to the man." The same facility in imbibing foolish prejudices; the same obstinacy in adhering to them; the same want of frankness in his intercourse with men, and the same want of charity in his religious principles; the same strength of memory for those who offended him, and the same brooding sullenness against those who opposed his will, which had been observed in the boy, were manifest in the King. Thus it happened that for several years he made the punishment of Wilkes a darling project of his government; that when that mock patriot grew tired of brawling, the subjection of America became the prevailing object

* Waldegrave's Mem. p. 9. † Ib. p. 63. ‡ Ib. p. 10.

of the royal policy; and that, at a later period, the exclusion of the Irish people from the privileges of the constitution, absorbed his narrow intellect and grew into a passion. Thus too it happened, that on the occasion of the repeal of the Stamp Act, in 1767, and on the proposal of Mr. Fox's India Bill in 1784, the ostensible Ministers of the Crown were treated with reserve and dissimulation; while the lords of the bed-chamber and the party of the King's friends received their private instructions to oppose the measure to which the royal sanction had apparently been given. The treatment of Lord Grenville and Lord Grey, in 1807, on the subject of the Roman Catholics, was marked by similar reserve, and not very dissimilar intrigues. Thus too it happened that statesmen of great weight in Parliament were for many years excluded from the King's councils by the obstinacy of personal resentment, or the antipathies of an uncharitable temper.

It must not be concealed that, with regard to Wilkes, more with regard to the American war, and still more with regard to the Irish Roman Catholics, the prejudices of the Sovereign were shared by a large portion of his subjects. This it was, indeed, which rendered them so injurious in their effects.

We may now estimate with some accuracy the effect of the Bute plan of superseding party by

prerogative. The will of a Prince of the most ordinary understanding, of the most confined education, and of the most unhappy opinions, was made to prevail over the enlightened views of Lord Chatham, Lord Rockingham, Mr. Burke, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Pitt. One of the great distinctions of a free country, that of being governed by its ablest men, was at several periods of this reign entirely lost. The utmost confusion prevailed for the first ten years of this inauspicious system. Nothing indeed but the magnitude of the danger which the country incurred at the end of the American and the commencement of the French wars, prevented George the Third from ruling the country by the Jenkinsons and the Addingtons, and excluding the greatest of his subjects altogether from the councils of the State.

Party has no doubt its evils; but all the evils of party put together would be scarcely a grain in the balance, when compared to the dissolution of honourable friendships, the pursuit of selfish ends, the want of concert in council, the absence of a settled policy in foreign affairs, the corruption of separate statesmen, the caprices of an intriguing Court, which the extinction of party connection has brought and would again bring upon this country.

I have gone over the story of those times, because it appears to me they are full of instruction and of

warning. One writer of those days, the spawn of that pestilent miasma, must be noticed, both on general grounds, and in reference to the Duke of Bedford.

The war of parties was carried on during the last century in a manner somewhat different from the fashion of the present day. The Houses of Parliament did not allow their debates to be published. The imperfect and garbled reports which appeared in monthly miscellanies gave but a faint and distorted reflection of the actual contest of debate. The leading parties in the State, in order to obtain the verdict of the country, either wrote, or paid for, pamphlets and periodical writings setting forth their principles and their conduct. Sir Robert Walpole hired some indifferent authors; Lord Bolingbroke wrote himself in the "Craftsman;" Ralph set up a paper at the desire of the Duke of Bedford; Dr. Johnson employed his pen in behalf of the Ministry. In this state of things, an anonymous writer published some letters under various signatures in the "Public Advertiser." At first, these letters were of the usual description of such writings, bombastical and empty, much abuse without any proof, and great presumption without great talent. Lord Chatham was the chief object of the writer's extravagant invective, and Mr. Grenville the subject of his equally extravagant praise. Thus we have Lord Chatham

described as "a man purely and perfectly bad," and then depicted as having "arrived at that moment at which he might see himself within reach of the great object, to which all the artifices, the intrigues, the hypocrisy, and the impudence of his past life were directed." Then, after an account of his conduct, we have: "These are but a few of the pernicious practices by which a traitor may be known, by which a free people may be enslaved. But the masterpiece of his treachery, and the surest of answering all his purposes, would be, if possible, to foment such discord between the mother country and her colonies as may leave them both an easier prey to his own dark machinations. With this patriotic view, he will be ready to declare himself the patron of sedition, and a zealous advocate for rebellion." Then, again, we have him portrayed as "so black a villain;" and a comfortable reflection at the close, that although we have "no Tarpeian rock," "yet we have impeachments; and a gibbet is not too honourable a situation for the carcass of a traitor." Such was the style of the libeller before he had learnt to point his arrows; such was his respect for public services, and an honourable old age.* Presently more pains were taken; the style became less inflated, and the matter less

* Woodfall's Junius, vol. ii. p. 456.

absurd; the author took the name of Junius, and suddenly attracted general notice.

I need hardly vindicate the Duke of Bedford from the attacks of Junius. Lord Brougham, in his "Statesmen of the Reign of George the Third," has amply proved the baselessness of his calumnies.* But the whole fabric deserves to be pointed out as a specimen of the taste and temper of those days. Let it be first observed, that the favourite topics of this writer were those from which a man of generous or even moderately good feelings would have shrunk. If he writes to George the Third, he bitterly reproaches him with the supposed dishonour of his mother. If he addresses the Duke of Grafton, he reminds him jestingly of the infidelity of his wife. If he chooses the Duke of Bedford for his butt, he brings to mind the sudden death of his only son, and calls public attention to the measure and mode of his private grief. To any writer, moved solely by regard for his country, these topics would have been alien or distasteful. But it seems to have been the delight of this libeller to harrow the souls of those who were prominent in public life; and while he had not courage to fight with a sword in the open daylight, he had too much malignity to refrain from the use of the dagger, covered by a mask, and

* Vol. i. p. 144.

protected by the obscurity of the night. Nor can any excuse be found for this writer in the warmth of his ardour for public liberty. His zeal on that subject was wonderfully tempered by discretion. He viewed favourably the taxation of America, and dreaded as excessive innovation the disfranchisement of Gatton and Old Sarum. A false accusation gratified his rancour; the improvement of the constitution alarmed his caution.

The habit of anonymous writing is apt to produce an absurd exaggeration in the language used towards statesmen. The writer can, on the one hand, derive no weight from his reputation for integrity or for knowledge; an attack without a name may be written by the most worthless and ignorant, as well as by the honestest and most learned of men. On the other hand, he feels none of that caution which arises from the consciousness, that while he fires his rifle, he is exposing his own person to his enemy. It is for these two reasons that we generally find anonymous writers so much more abusive than men who speak or write in their own names. The flaunting colours of the daub attract the eye of the vulgar; while the just harmony of a good portrait is valued only by those who love a true likeness.

The letters of Junius afford ample illustrations of these remarks. Let us take one, addressed to

the Duke of Grafton, on which he valued himself so highly, that he writes to his publisher, "I am strangely partial to the enclosed. It is finished with the utmost care. If I find myself mistaken in my judgment of this paper, I positively will never write again."* Observe the commencement of the letter, thus highly valued by its author: "The profound respect I bear to the gracious Prince who governs this country with no less honour to himself than satisfaction to his subjects, and who restores you to your rank under his standard, will save you from a multitude of reproaches. The attention I should have paid to your failings is involuntarily attracted to the hand that rewards them; and though I am not so partial to the royal judgment, as to affirm that the favour of a King can remove mountains of infamy, it serves to lessen at least, for undoubtedly it divides the burthen. While I remember how much is due to *his* sacred character, I cannot with any decent appearance of propriety call you the meanest and the basest fellow in the kingdom. I protest, my Lord, I do not think you so. You will have a dangerous rival in that kind of fame, to which you have hitherto so happily directed your ambition, as long as there is one man living who thinks you worthy of his confidence, and fit to be trusted with any share in his government."†

* Junius, vol. i. p. 224. Woodfall's edition. † Junius, Letter 49.

This paragraph is certainly "finished with the utmost care." It is very elaborate, very prolix, and very false. The Duke of Grafton was often mistaken: having become by chance First Minister of the Crown, when he was intended only as a subordinate to Lord Chatham, he extricated himself very ill from difficulties he never expected to encounter. But he had nothing base or mean about him, and deserves our respect for the disinterested spirit of his public conduct. As to calling the King "the meanest and the basest fellow in the kingdom," no man of any worth would have signed his name to such a calumny.

Such false drawing as that of Junius does much to corrupt the public judgment. It is of the utmost importance that a nation should have a correct standard by which to weigh the character of its rulers. But if the weak and the misguided are called "traitors" and "villains,"—still more, if purity of conduct is made the theme of invective, as much as notorious dishonesty, the good are discouraged, the bad are comforted, and the indolent opinion of the idle multitude confounds in one sweeping condemnation the most unblemished of patriots with the most greedy of demagogues and the most corrupt of courtiers.

The special accusations against the Duke of Bedford may be soon disposed of. Indeed they

almost vanish when they are pressed into substance. For instance, that the Duke had been beaten on a race-course. The fact was, that he had been assaulted by some Jacobite rioters, in the Jacobite county of Stafford, two years after the rebellion. Or, that he had been paid for the peace of Paris. The proof of this baseless fiction was, that the Duke of Marlborough had *refused* a bribe from Torcy during the Succession War! Or, thirdly, that he had shown less grief than he should have done for the death of his son. But who can sound the depths of a private sorrow? Or who will venture to affirm that a vote given at the India House, on a great public question*, may not have been the vain attempt of an afflicted heart to break a single link in the chain of a continuous sorrow? I need not notice the low tale, that the Duke and Duchess of Bedford had sold the wardrobe of their son and daughter-in-law. These effects were given, as was the practice, to the immediate servants of Lord and Lady Tavistock, and sold by them for their own benefit. Indeed there was nothing sordid in the Duke's attention to his fortune. When his son had chosen a wife whom the Duke approved, Walpole says, "the Duke asked no questions about fortune, but has since slipped a bit of paper into Lady Elizabeth's hand, telling her he

* See the Editor's note in Walpole's Geo. III., vol. ii. p. 442.

hoped his son would live; but if he did not, there was something for her. It was a jointure of three thousand a year, and six hundred pin money." He allowed his son eight thousand a year, and on his death increased the jointure of Lady Tavistock.

It must be acknowledged, however, that Junius was a most accomplished libeller. Although he was no lawyer, and had but a smattering of constitutional knowledge, his statements on legal and constitutional questions are clear and plausible, his periods concise and harmonious; his epigram pointed, and his sarcasm exquisitely polished. These qualities, together with the proneness of mankind to believe the false, and doubt the true, sufficiently account for the great popularity of Junius:

> "L'homme est de feu pour le mensonge;
> Il est de glace pour la vérité."— *La Fontaine.*

Mr. Fox never thought very highly of this writer; nor can his letters be regarded otherwise than as a disgraceful proof that considerable talents may be devoted to the most malignant slander, and that calumnies may be so elaborately contrived as to exist beyond the usual period of their ephemeral and loathsome life.

It does not appear that the Duke of Bedford was much affected by these slanders, or by the unpopularity which was excited against him. A day or two after the mobbing at Exeter, to which

Junius refers with such exultation, we find him recording that he went over a farm in Dorsetshire, and commending with zest the excellence of the pasture.

Some particulars of the life of the Duke of Bedford during his latter years, remain to be noticed. The dreadful accident by which his son, Lord Tavistock, lost his life, occurred on the 9th of March, 1767. Horace Walpole, in his Catalogue of the Pictures at Woburn Abbey, thus expresses himself, in his notice of the portrait of Lord Tavistock: "Died in consequence of a fall from his horse as he was hunting; but not before such genuine honour, generosity, and every amiable virtue had shone through the veil of natural modesty, that no young man of quality, since the Earl of Ossory, son of the Duke of Ormond, had inspired fonder hopes, attracted higher esteem, or died so universally lamented."

The grief of the Duke of Bedford was attended with such violent symptoms, that his friends feared for his life. David Hume says, "Nobody believed when it happened that the Duke of Bedford would have survived the loss." Writing to the Comtesse de Boufflers on the 10th of June, he says, "It was very happy for the Duke that at the time of poor Lord Tavistock's death there were public transactions of moment before Parliament, in which his

friends urged him to take part. The natural fervour of his character insensibly engaged him in the scene. He was diverted from his own melancholy reflections, and business thus proved to him the best consolation. He has not, however, recovered thoroughly that terrible shock; and the Duchess, to whom the world did not ascribe so great a degree of sensibility, is still more inconsolable."

In the autumn of the following year he visited Dublin, to be installed as Chancellor of Trinity College. The Provost*, in his speech, made a brief allusion to the loss he had sustained. The Duke, in his Journal, says, "The Provost made the most elegant speech in Latin that ever was uttered; but too much in my favour, and too affecting to my heart, to be entered in these minutes."

The occupations of the Duke of Bedford were those of an English gentleman, and it is curious to mark how little disease, blindness, and age, had disqualified him from taking his share of the business or amusements of life. His Journal relates his various transactions as a politician; his audiences of the King; his conferences with Lord Chatham and Lord Rockingham; his dinners at the Trinity House; his visits to the Opera, and to the playhouse; his journies to his property, marking out hedges, planting trees, and letting farms:—

* Dr. Andrews.

Thus we have, "**1767.** Feb. 4. At the Paving Board; afterwards at the House of Lords, where the three remaining Judges, viz. Adams, Smith and Clive, delivered their opinions in favour of the Dissenters. Lord Mansfield spoke in his place as a peer most excellently well for the Dissenters not being obliged to serve; and the appeal of the Chamberlain was dismissed. I dined at home, and went in the evening to Comte Guerchy's.

"18th. At the Paving Board in the morning, to settle the Bill that is to be brought into Parliament. In the evening at the French Ambassador's, and at Lord Pigot's, at a concert, and to hear his daughter, an Indian not quite ten years old, sing; which she did charmingly. This day the estimates of the army, 315,000*l.*, were debated in the House of Commons.

"21st. At the Trinity House in the morning, to settle the plan of the sperm lights. Came home through the Borough, to see the new pavement. It seems to be well executed.

"23d. Went to Streatham, to mark timber in Pierce's farm, and to settle what part of it I should take in hand for tillage. Visited in the evening, and went to the concert.

"26th. I was at the drawing-room. Was received most graciously by the King and Queen; most particularly by the Queen. . . . .

"March 5th. In the morning, one Samuel Grill, of Plymouth, was with me, at his own request, to propose a plan for carrying a navigable cut up to Tavistock. By his manner he seems to be a wild projector, and was not able to give a satisfactory account of his plan. I declined giving him any encouragement. I was at the House of Lords, to inquire about the papers the Duke of Grafton had promised should be laid before the House, relating to America. His Grace not being there, I spoke to the Chancellor about them, who promised me to write to the Duke; and after the House was up, I spoke to Lord Shelburne, who was just then come in, and desired to speak with me. . . . I dined with Mr. Forester, and went to the Opera and Almack's.

"7th. . . . Went to Covent Garden playhouse, in order to see the "Citizen," but could get no place. Went to the Opera, and supped at the club.

"8th. Dined at Mr. Grenville's. . . . .

"[9th. . . . On the morning of this day Lord Tavistock met with his fatal accident. There is no entry in the Journal till the 10th of April, when the Duke went to Court, and to the House of Lords, where he moved for an address to the Crown, on the subject of an Act of the Assembly of Massachussets. He went afterwards for some time only

to Lady Tavistock's; from the 28th of April to May 10th he was laid up by a fit of the gout.]

July 11th. (Woburn Abbey.) The Marquis of Rockingham and Admiral Keppel came down to dinner; as did Mr. Rigby, just from Mr. Grenville. After dinner the Marquis of Rockingham informed us of the conversation betwixt him and the Duke of Grafton, with relation to the forming a new administration, into which my friends were to come, &c.*

Aug. 25th. Began carrying oats at Woburn, this morning. Set out for London. I saw Lady Tavistock and her little boy this evening.

Sept. 23d. I set out for Woburn by way of Newport Pagnel in order to view the turnpike road; which I found but in indifferent order. I gave directions respecting it.

30th. Lord Mansfield came to the Abbey at a little after one.

Oct. 1st. Nothing material except some political conversation which passed between Lord Mansfield, Mr. Rigby, and myself; in which we much agreed.

2d. Lord Mansfield went away in the morning. Lady Tavistock and her children came in the evening.

* See p. 365. for the remainder of this entry, which is too long to be repeated here.

1768. April 16th. (Bath.) I bathed, and in the evening went to the play, the "Conscious Lovers." Miss Read performed the part of Indiana, incomparably well.

23d. Sir William Draper, General Pierson, &c., dined with me. Went to the play, the "Beggar's Opera," and the "Mayor of Garratt." My grandson Johnny was inoculated from his brother William, who had it naturally.

28th. Finished sitting for my two pictures, by Gainsborough. Set out from Bath a little before twelve.

May 1st. I dined at the Dilettanti Society. Went in the evening to Lady Harrington's, and my daughter's.

5th and 6th. At Woburn. Went through all the grounds; marked timber in the park, and Milton Wood: gave directions about planting cedars at Mount Libanus, and by the Pool.

11th. Went to Court and a council; where a proclamation was issued against riots, tumults, &c.; some thousands of seamen being at that time before the doors of the Houses of Parliament. Great riots had been the preceding day at the King's Bench Prison, and some few were killed and wounded. I went in the evening to a ball at Marlborough House, and supped at White's.

15th. Dined at home. Went in the evening to

Lord Mansfield; where, for the first time, I saw Dr. Robertson. The town quiet this day.

22d. Whitsunday. I went to church and received the Holy Communion.

June 14th. Lady Tavistock came to dinner, and brought her dear little boy with her.

July 25th. Lady Tavistock and her boy came to breakfast. She is determined to go to her sister, next Friday, at all our desires, to consult about her health.

Aug. 17th. Went to the King's levee; where I took leave and kissed his hand, on my going to Ireland. Finding that the King of Denmark was returned to his lodgings, I stepped over, and saw him. I went from Miss Wrottesley's, between nine and ten, with a party in the Admiralty barge, to Vauxhall. We supped there, and had a very pleasant evening; and, just at twelve o'clock, the King of Denmark, with a large party of ladies, viz. Lady Harrington and her two daughters, Madame Pouskin, and my niece, Lady Capel, and a great many gentlemen, came into the gardens from Ranelagh, by water. The band of music was re-summoned into the orchestra, and a fine march of Handel's was played at his entrance, and the music was continued for some time, and the famous hautboy Fischer played remarkably well. The King then went to supper in the pavilion with his

company, and Lord Weymouth and I went up to pay our court to him. At half an hour before two, Miss Betty W. and myself returned to Bedford House.

Sept. 27th. This morning Lady Tavistock set out for Bagshot, in her way to Portsmouth. We all set out for the Abbey.

Nov. 9th. At Bath. We had our first accounts of Lady Tavistock from Lisbon.

18th. At Bedford House. Received the melancholy news of dear Lady Tavistock's death. Miss Wrottesley and I went that evening to see Lady Albemarle."

[Lady Tavistock had never recovered the death of her husband. It was in vain that his family and her own attempted to restore the health which continual grief undermined. At a consultation at Bedford House, in August, one of the physicians, on feeling her pulse, desired her to open her hand. He could only overcome her reluctance to do so by a gentle violence, and he then perceived that she held in her closed hand a miniature of her departed husband. "Ah, Madam!" he exclaimed, "all our prescriptions must be useless, whilst you so carefully cherish the wasting sorrow that destroys you." "I have kept it," she replied, "either in my bosom or my hand ever since my dear Lord's death; and thus I must indeed con-

tinue to retain it, until I drop off after him into the welcome grave."]*

"**1769.** June 24th. A little after six in the evening, the Duke of Grafton was married at Woburn Abbey to Miss Betty Wrottesley, by Mr. Morris, my curate here, on an especial license from the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of all the company now here. My grandchildren were here from Houghton. A little after seven, the new-married couple set out for Wakefield Lodge.

July 30th. (Sunday.) I went to look at Bedford House, in Exeter; and, after breakfast, set out on horseback for Honiton, whither Mr. Palmer had gone on forward in my chaise. On my arrival there, I found at the inn-door a vast concourse of people, who received me with hissing, groaning, the cry of "Wilkes and Liberty," the "Peacemaker," &c. After speaking at the gate of the inn to Sir Robert Hamilton and Mr. Rowe, a neighbouring clergyman, I went forward, attended by the mob, with most violent imprecations; and soon after I turned out of the high street of the town, near twenty bull-dogs were halloed at my horse; but, by the grace of God, no one actually seized him, though I had two for a long time just under his nose. The mob then threw stones; a great many of which hit me, though without any damage

* Wiffen's Memoirs of the House of Russell, vol. ii.

to myself. Upon this I galloped forward. My chaise, which followed in less than five minutes after I was gone, was pelted with stones, and two of the glasses and a pannel broke. From this place I went to Bridport.

31st. I went in the morning to Barwick Place, where my ancestors last lived in Dorsetshire. It is a fine farm, but a dismal place. From thence I went by the sea-side, through Kingston Russell farm, to Mr. Hardy, my tenant's house, where I dined. This is an exceedingly fine farm, and has the finest ewe leasowes I ever saw in my life. After a very good farmer-like dinner, and a hearty welcome, I set out for Blandford.

Sept. 31st. We set out for London, where we arrived to dinner. In the evening I saw Dr. Heberden, who ordered me medicines to remove the suffocation in my breast, which had prevented me so long from lying for any length of time down in my bed.

1770. February 6th. After dinner I went to the Catch Club; then to the new Comic Opera, but a middling one; and supped at Madame Châtelet's.

17th. I dined at Lord North's, and supped at the club.

20th. I dined at Lord Gower's, with Lord Mansfield, the Archbishop of York, Lord Kinnoul, Duke of Grafton, &c. Made visits in the evening.

March 27th. I was at the Paving Board, and at the Catch Club, and went to the Opera.

May 6th. Mr. Chambers came by appointment to settle about the new bridge to be built.

8th. I went in the morning to Bedford, where I saw the regiment of militia go through their firings, &c., perfectly well and in good order. I afterwards dined at the Swan, with Lord Ossory and the corps of officers. I returned in the evening to the Abbey.

13th. I dined at the turnpike meeting at Woburn, where we ordered a causeway to be made over all the sands from Wavenden to Woburn turnpike.

17th. (Sunday.) After chapel, Mr. Palmer and I went to Streatham. Went through the fields laid for mowing; none yet fit to cut. Looked on the piece of common behind Lady Ryder's house. I cannot consent to her desire of enclosing it. Fixed on a spot in the Duke's piece, where the carpenter wants to build a small house. I have no objection to it. I went in the evening to St. James's, to the christening of the young Princess Elizabeth."

These extracts give some idea of the pursuits, occupations, and amusements of John, Duke of Bedford. Warm and eager in his disposition, of a social and cheerful temper, he devoted himself with ardour to political affairs, enjoyed with keen delight the playhouse, or the opera, and then turned with

equal animation to see his oats carried, or join in a game of cricket. He was in many respects a great contrast to the Earl of Chesterfield. That accomplished and witty person was often right in his political views, and always pointed in the expression of his opinions. The Duke of Bedford was sometimes very right, and sometimes exceedingly wrong, but his study of the subject was always better than the language of his speeches. Lord Chesterfield endeavoured to imitate the profligacy, the levity, the neglect of moral duties of the French nobility. The Duke of Bedford liked a jolly companion, and an athletic game, but was deeply attached to the religion of his country and the society of his own family. Lord Chesterfield endeavoured, though in vain, to teach his son the arts of intrigue, and a tone of clever insincerity upon all subjects. The Duke of Bedford attained his utmost wishes when he saw his son married to a virtuous woman, and in the enjoyment of domestic happiness. The want of practical religion and morals which Lord Chesterfield held up to imitation, conducted the French nobility to the guillotine and emigration; the honesty, the attachment to his religion, the country habits, the love of home, the activity in rural business and rural sports, in which the Duke of Bedford and others of his class delighted, preserved the English aristocracy from a flood which

swept over half of Europe, laying prostrate the highest of her palaces, and scattering the ashes of the most sacred of her monuments.

The Duke of Bedford was spared the trials of a protracted and helpless old age. It was only during the last six months of his life, that his infirmities so far increased as to make all bodily exertion painful to him; and after a fruitless trial of the Bath waters, in the autumn of 1770, he returned to Woburn early in December, with very faint hopes of amendment. Still, although his body was, to use his own words, "in a very decrepit state," neither the strength of his character, nor the warmth of his feelings seems to have been materially impaired. No sooner had he heard of the inundations in the Fens, than he took the lead in the benevolent exertions made for the relief of the sufferers. He likewise continued to show the same lively interest in the fortunes of his friends, especially of those who most needed his assistance; and so late as the 25th, addressed an earnest appeal to Lord North on behalf of a gentleman who had long faithfully served him as a secretary. Nor was his attachment to rural pursuits less lasting. He continued his usual entries of agricultural and other business done or to be done on his property up to the 4th of January, that being only eleven days previous to his decease, which took place on the

15th of the same month, in the 61st year of his age.*

"Intentum enim animum tanquam arcum, habebat, nec languescens succumbebat senectuti. Tenebat non modo auctoritatem, sed etiam imperium in suos: metuebant servi, verebantur liberi, carum omnes habebant: vigebat in illa domo patrius mos et disciplina. Ita enim senectus honesta est, si se ipsa defendit, si jus suum retinet, si nemini emancipata est, si usque ad extremum spiritum dominatur in suos."†

* P. 417. *infrà.* † Cicero, de Senectute, c. 11.

CORRESPONDENCE,

&c. &c.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

(Abstract.)

St. James's Place, January 1. 1761. 1761.

My dear Lord,

Upon my coming to town this morning, I found the enclosed letter from the Lords Justices to your Grace. I am not surprised at the contents; extraordinary as they, no doubt, are. Ponsonby's letter to his brother, of which I wrote your Grace an account some time ago, was but the prologue to the play. What answer would their Excellencies have, but the letter from the Council here to their remonstrances, which you set your hand to. Did they expect a private controversy between your Grace and them, who had the best of the argument, when the King and his Council here had determined upon the measure? They are touched to the quick, I perceive, at the bare report of their intentions to deceive you in not saying a Money Bill was not to be transmitted when they wrote for the dissolution of the Parliament.

1761. They are absurd to write answers to vague and common reports, and I should think would not be so hurt at them, if they were totally void of foundation. I must observe, likewise, that they are angry they had no answer to their remonstrance, when the two bills arrived immediately after the receipt of it, long before my reply to it could get back to Ireland. Their letter containing their reasons against transmitting a Money Bill is dated the 23d of November, and was received the 28th, and the other transmitting the two bills is dated the 26th of November, and was received on the 30th. If, therefore, we had a mind to be as disingenuous as them, we might say that an answer was preparing to their remonstrance, but that the bills following in so short a time as two days, it was impossible to have sent it.

I dined at Lady Betty's, but have not heard a word of news.

I am, &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

St. James's Place, January 16. 1761, eight o'clock at night.

Your Grace will receive this letter by Foster, the messenger, who brought the last despatch from the Lords Justices of Ireland to you.

I send your Grace by him an exact copy of the letter, which is unanimously agreed to by the cabinet council here in answer to that despatch, and which is *literatim* the same which I read to you at Woburn, as you will see by the very copy in my handwriting which I read to you there. The reason why it has been so long delayed is, indeed, extraordinary. I went to-day to see Mr. Pitt, and to inquire after the cause of it. He had been lifted into his coach with the gout in his feet, and was gone to take the air. I then hunted out Mr. Wood, and found him at the War Office. When I told him what Mr. Pitt had done with our letter, he was surprised, and told me Mr. Pitt thought it was gone to Ireland many days ago. Please to compare that idea with my note, which I sent to him with the draught of the letter. I cannot reconcile them, unless he thinks your Grace treats the whole cabinet council in the cavalier style in which he uses them. However, as it is now unanimously agreed to be a proper letter, no more time is to be lost, and your Grace, I suppose, will send Foster on to Ireland, as soon as you have signed it. 1761.

The King asked me many questions at his levee about your gout, and if it was like to detain you a great while in the country, which, at this time, he said, was very unfortunate. He asked me if you thought going into the country would cure you. I told his Majesty I believed you thought exercise the best way to prevent it. He asked about the

1761. twistings, the pain, and all the d—d circumstances of it, and added, that people said it was very wholesome, but he did not believe any such thing. There was nothing remarkable at Court but the Duke of Richmond, to whom the King barely spoke a word.

I was with the Duke of Newcastle in the morning, but I don't hear any events. The primate has wrote him another letter, saying now how desirous he is to retire from all public business, and hoping that his Grace will no more see his name in any public transactions. The Duke of Newcastle approves much of your letter to the Lords Justices, and told me that Lord Mansfield did the like.

I dined at Sir Jacob Downing's, who desired me to tell you it is now needless to offer you his interest in Bedfordshire, but it is always most heartily at your service. Mr. Fox dined there, to whom Lord Kildare has wrote, and told him that he should not leave Dublin till after the 12th of this month, because it was given out that he dared not go that day to council. His Lordship had wrote to Lord Inchiquin to desire he would also be at council on that day.

Lord Holderness is gone into Yorkshire to support Turner against Lord Rockingham, which will make a good deal of provincial discord I believe. Poor Lady Betty is furiously angry at him, with a good deal of reason. Had he sent Mr. Waldgrave the King's leave of absence the night he promised to do it, Johnny would have been with the last

packet; he may now be wind-bound this fort- 1761.
night.

Lord Henley was declared Lord Chancellor this day in council.

The expedition * goes on furiously, and I fear the prospect of peace is at a great distance.

I hope this will find you on the mending hand, and that we shall very soon see you in town.

I am, &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE EARL OF KILDARE.

Tuesday, February 24. 1761.

Give me leave to congratulate you on his Majesty having been graciously pleased to signify to me this morning the intention of creating you a Marquess of Ireland, with the promise that you shall be created a Duke, whenever he shall think proper to make one of that degree either in England or Ireland, exclusive of any of his own family. This mark of the King's entire approbation of your conduct during the late disputes in Ireland gives me infinite satisfaction, especially as I have been entrusted by your Lordship in the conducting this affair, as there is no one has your Lordship's interest more zealously at heart than myself.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

*. Against Belleisle.

1761.

St. James's Square, March 10. 1761.

Mr. Pitt presents his compliments to the Duke of Bedford, and is obliged to his Grace for taking the trouble of communicating to him the measure of turning out Mr. Malone, already decided and in part executed. Had Mr. Pitt been consulted on a matter of this consequence, he should have doubted the expediency of such a step, and have thought that it required to be more maturely weighed.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Bedford House, half-past three o'clock,
Wednesday, April 22. 1761.

I have been at Court, where I found the Duke of Newcastle in the greatest uneasiness that your Grace is gone out of town. A meeting is appointed for to-morrow upon the Peace; and, as his Grace tells me, nobody dare speak their mind but yourself, and that the country is undone if you are all bullied out of your peaceable dispositions. He tells me that he and you are the great objects of the great man's resentment for thinking alike upon this subject; but that you are the worst with him. The truth is, that his Grace and the rest of them are afraid of him, and want you to stand the brunt.

I know how you hate a messenger, and how you hate being fetched from Woburn, and I don't wonder at either. But I know also, how you long for peace, and therefore I think it better, upon the whole, to send a man and submit it to you. 1761.

The Duke of Newcastle pressed me to send to you, but I would not own to him that I should do it, nor does he know it.

I am, &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

St. James's Place, Friday evening, April 24. 1761.

I was much disappointed indeed at not having the good fortune to find your Grace either last night or this morning. But I am perfectly satisfied since, as I have heard such universal report of your behaviour yesterday as does you the the greatest honour. I have heard much of the Duke of Newcastle's kisses, but never had one from him till to-day; and I thought his Majesty and Lord Bute would have kissed me too, I was so received by them both at St. James's. His Lordship told me he had the King's commands to send you some papers, which he hoped you would peruse before another meeting, which is appointed for Monday next, in consequence of the arrival of a

1761. courier from France this morning. I suppose the papers he means are copies of the despatches this messenger has brought. They shall be forwarded to you as soon as they are sent either here or to Bedford House; though by your speeches and arguments yesterday, a very little time seems to be necessary to prepare you to make the best figure at such meetings that ever man made. The Duke of Newcastle told me at court that he had not seen the letters, but that the King had told him he was perfectly satisfied with them. Mr. Pitt had not given his Grace so favourable an account of them, which makes me imagine and hope they are peaceable.

I understand that you propose coming to town on Sunday evening; do pray come and sup here. I have engaged your Marchioness and Lady Barrymore to loo that evening, and you will oblige us all.

I am, &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Newcastle House, June 3. 1761,
past three at noon.

My dear Lord,

Your Grace's goodness to me is such, that I will venture to take a liberty, which nothing but that can justify. I understand the King wishes to have a council on Wednesday, and for that pur-

pose an unusual method is taken, to mention in the summons, *upon the most urgent and important business*, and the summons is to be sent by particular messengers. I am sure his Majesty would be severely afflicted if his first and greatest subject should be absent upon an occasion, which though it is purely a matter of form and nothing to be said or done, yet concerns the King's person so nearly; and therefore my great attachment to your Grace would not suffer me to conceal my thoughts from you upon a point which seems to me so material. 1761.

I believe my Lord Bute intends to write to your Grace; but as his Majesty was very anxious that nothing should be said of the cause of the meeting of the council, till the council is actually met, I must beg your Grace would take no notice of my having acquainted you with it. As to the latter part of your Grace's letter, it gives me very great concern, and the more as I cannot pretend to say that there is not some foundation for it; but however, I beg your Grace would take no resolution till I have the honour to see you, and to talk the whole over, and know your Grace's sense upon it. I will flatter myself that I shall have an opportunity of doing it next week. I beg my compliments to the Duchess of Bedford. I hope to wait upon your Grace at Woburn some time this summer, and

I am, &c.

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

1761.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

(Extract.)

St. James's Place, June 10. 1761.

Middleton read me a letter from a friend of his, physician to the army in Germany, with a worse account of the mortality and sickness there than any I have heard yet. He describes those of the troops who have been ill, and are now just recovered enough to join their regiments, to have all the marks of feebleness upon them which people have after long fits of illness, and this to the amount of almost half the army. I advised him to show Lord Bute the letter, which he said he would do, if ever he could see him.

I am, &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

St. James's Place, Friday evening, June 12. 1761.

Lord Gower, the Duke of Bridgewater, Lord Tavistock, and some more company dined here; amongst others, Mr. Wood, from whom I learn that an express arrived from Belleisle this morning. General Hodgson sends no particular accounts of the progress of the siege, but the place

was not taken on the 4th, and I believe it is likely to hold out some time longer. Hodgson is now in want of that trifling article gunpowder, which Keppel has supplied him with till he can spare no more; Colonel Howe is wounded in the leg — I don't hear that it is dangerous; Desaguliers is also wounded. I know no more particulars. Keppel has now five-and-twenty sail of the line and as many frigates under his command — a noble one for a captain only. 1761.

A messenger is also arrived to-day from Stanley. You may imagine much of his contents did not transpire; but enough did to let me judge they are not favourable to our peaceable wishes. The despatches which he brought were sent to the King, and Mr. Pitt went to Hayes this afternoon.

My intelligence yesterday of more troops to Belleisle is not true.

THE EARL OF BUTE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

I have hesitated for some time about troubling your Grace with the following particulars; but the great uncertainty you left us in with Bussy will, perhaps, render a short account of what has passed between Stanley and Choiseul not disagreeable. In a long despatch of the former of these gentlemen, I recollect these anecdotes: 1st, that Choiseul disavows Bussy's conduct in

1761. delaying his journey to Calais, and offered to oblige this minister to make his submission first; 2dly, that he was transported with the idea Stanley opened to him of a separate peace to be concluded between the two kingdoms; 3dly, that he agreed to the ancient proposition of the *uti possidetis*, but hoped that the former epochs might be adhered to, or that we would propose new ones; 4thly, with regard to compensation, he seemed to expect we should first open our ideas, and name our terms; but on Mr. Stanley declaring that could not be expected, he dropped it, Stanley adding, that we should have no more of it; 5thly, he talked of Belleisle as a thing over; seemed to lay no stress upon it, and said he had ordered Bussy to light up his house on its being taken; 6thly, when Stanley mentioned our intention to support the King of Prussia, he agreed, France having the same liberty to assist her allies. This is, to the best of my memory, the essence of the despatch; yet in these few particulars your Grace will perceive a wide difference between Choiseul and Bussy. What this is coming to I cannot conceive, but a little time will clear it up.

I am, &c.

BUTE.

P.S. Stanley was to be introduced to the King; Bussy has declined it.

1761.

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Claremont, June 13. 1761.

As my Lord Bute's Saturday's excursion into the country may possibly prevent his sending your Grace an account of the very good news which is come from Mr. Stanley, I would by no means let your Grace be ignorant of them, as I know they will give you great satisfaction, as my Lord Bute very justly observes.

I therefore take the liberty to send your Grace my Lord Bute's letter to me, and my answer, by which your Grace will see all the particulars which I know of this unexpected happy beginning, and my notions upon it. Your Grace will see a distant hint of security for his Majesty's German dominions, by which I would fling out something that might lead to a suspension of arms. If there is any meeting of the Lords upon these advices from Mr. Stanley, or those which must soon come by the return of Bussy's courier, I hope your Grace will be with us, for, without a compliment, we shall otherwise want the most material assistance we can have. I ought to beg pardon for troubling you with the long packet I sent the other day; your Grace will take your own time in sending it back.

1761.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE EARL OF BUTE.

Woburn Abbey, June 13. 1761.

My Lord,

I am this evening favoured with your Lordship's letter, and I think myself much obliged to you for the trouble you have given yourself in acquainting me with the several very material particulars in Mr. Stanley's despatches. It gives me great pleasure to find that, notwithstanding you have not been entirely pleased with what Monsieur Bussy has told you here, yet the Duke de Choiseul's conversation has been such as must have given great satisfaction to you as a well-wisher to a speedy peace betwixt France and this country; indeed, it has given a most sincere one to me, as I am convinced, by the behaviour of the French minister, that he has a strong propensity to peace; and the terms on which he proposes to make it are, in my conception, so advantageous to this country, that I think no one should hesitate a moment in giving his assent to the conclusion of it, upon the very terms chalked out by Monsieur Choiseul himself. The only difficulty that occurs to me is this, that the terms are so advantageous to England, and on the contrary to France, that I can hardly persuade myself that she is in earnest to conclude, or, should she be willing to do it, that it is only to take breath in order to break it, when she shall have again recruited her strength. For to

take the several particulars mentioned in your Lordship's letter in the order in which you have ranged them, there seems to be the strongest symptoms of compliance to our utmost wishes, as I will endeavour to show. 1761.

1. Their disavowal of Bussy's conduct in delaying his journey to Calais, and their offering to direct him to make excuses for it.

2. Their readiness to make a separate peace betwixt the two kingdoms.

3. Their agreement to the *uti possidetis* with the former epochs, or some reasonable alteration in them; of which I will mention my thoughts before I conclude this letter.

4. Their dropping, for the present, the matter of compensations.

5. Their treating lightly the affair of Belleisle; and,

6. Their agreeing to put the allies of each nation, that is Prussia, on our part, and the Empress's, &c., on theirs, out of the question in the affair of the particular peace betwixt the two nations, do all jointly evince their desire (if they do not mean to throw dust in our eyes) of coming immediately to terms with England. What your Lordship mentions in your postscript of Mr. Stanley's being introduced to the King, as it has not usually been done at the Court of Versailles to any under the rank of ambassador, indicates, in my poor opinion, a condescension which France has not usually shown to other nations, nor would

1761. she now to this, was not the desire of peace most prevalent there.

I am ashamed to take up so much of your Lordship's time; but I must beg a little longer indulgence to explain my thoughts to you about the reasonableness of changing the epochs. The *uti possidetis* was proposed in the Duke de Choiseul's first memorial, depending upon certain epochs which, according to their reasoning (and I must own to my own likewise), appeared equitable for both Courts to agree to. As this *uti possidetis* is in all probability very materially changed by this time by the conquest of a French island, can it be reasonably demanded of them to alter these epochs purposely to comprehend a conquest made since this affair has been in agitation, and which must be considered as much a part of France as the Isle of Wight is of England?

Let any Briton lay his hand upon his heart, and say, whether, let the distress of this country be ever so great, he could put his hand to a peace which should cede the Isle of Wight to France. If this is the case, let us do as we would be done by, the most golden rule, as well in what relates to the public as to private life, which exists, and, I believe, ought always to be observed, as well in good policy as in good conscience.

I am aware it may be observed that it is not meant finally to retain Belleisle, but that it will be a good thing to carry to market, to obtain better conditions, than we should otherwise have; to this

I reply, we have too much already — more than we know what to do with; and I very much fear, that, if we retain the greatest part of our conquests out of Europe, we shall be in danger of over-colonising and undoing ourselves by them, as the Spaniards have done. I once more beg pardon for having troubled you so long, but I can hardly give over this topic. 1761.

I am, &c.

B.

June 14. Sunday noon.

P. S. — Since writing the above I am favoured with your Lordship's, by Blackmore, with the account of the surrender of Belleisle, for which I return you my most sincere thanks. I received, likewise, this morning, a flying packet from the Duke of Newcastle, enclosing your letter to him and his to you in answer. As I have not time to write so fully to him as I have done to your Lordship, I wish you would (if you think proper) communicate this to him.

B.

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Claremont, July 2. 1761.

I take the earliest opportunity to acquaint you, that yesterday my Lord Bute desired my Lord

1761. Hardwicke, Mr. Pitt, and myself, to come to his office, when he informed us the King had for some time been making inquiries into the characters of several princesses in Germany, in order to choose one of them for his consort; that, upon the fullest information, his Majesty's choice had fallen upon the Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg Strelitz. My Lord Bute read to us the letters from the person who has been employed, and indeed nothing can be more advantageous than the description and character there given of this lady. That since the arrival of the last letter, which was the last post, his Majesty had taken his final resolution, and was in a great hurry to put it into execution; and as the first step was making the declaration in council, his Majesty had ordered a general council to be summoned for Wednesday next, the 8th inst.* That the King hoped he should have a full attendance upon this occasion, and would therefore have something said in the summons which might show that this council was for some particular business of moment; and I think the words are, *upon urgent and important business.* I observed these words would certainly be at first interpreted to mean *peace* (than which, I fear, few things are less probable at present). But the words are put into the summons; and particular messengers, I understand,

* "The King's marriage was kept the profoundest secret till last Wednesday, when the privy council was extraordinarily summoned, and it was notified to them."— *Walpole Letters*, vol. iv. p. 153.

are sent with the summons to lords in the country. 1761.
It is great concern to me that this appointment, which could not be altered, necessarily prevents the honour and pleasure which I proposed to myself, of waiting upon your Grace and the Duchess of Bedford at Woburn, as I presume your Grace as well as myself will be at council upon this solemn occasion, which, to be sure, is a very happy one for the kingdom, which is so much interested in his Majesty's marriage. I shall pursue my design of going to Cambridge, but propose to come away on Tuesday after dinner, that I may be early in town on Wednesday morning. As I am thus deprived of the honour of attending your Grace back to Woburn, I can't presume to hope for the honour of seeing your Grace at Cambridge, an honour, however, that the University hopes for with the greatest satisfaction. I must now acquaint your Grace I had a long conversation on Thursday last with Lord Bute, upon what had passed on Friday in council. His Lordship seemed full of very great resentment of the behaviour of Mr. Pitt towards him, that day, which he called *the insolence of Mr. Pitt*, and upon which, I understand, he has spoken very strongly to Mr. Pitt. My Lord Bute did not seem quite satisfied with us, who he said did not support him; but that he was left *alone*, unsupported by any body but my Lord Halifax, who had done it in a manner not to be of great service, to the point. I assured my Lord Bute, that we should be very ready to concert previously with his Lordship the measures

1761. to be taken: our point was to do nothing that might prevent or delay the peace. I find Mr. Pitt's letter neither pleases the King nor my Lord Bute, and I doubt he will not forward our negotiation of peace. I am in haste to send this letter away.

EARL OF BUTE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, July 3. 1761.

My Lord,

The very great regard I have for your Grace has made me quite uneasy till I obtained his Majesty's permission to communicate to you the business of the council, to which your Grace is summoned on Wednesday next; I do it, my Lord, under the seal of the strictest secrecy. The King intends that day to declare his resolution of taking a consort to his bed. The lady pitched on to be our future Queen is the Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg Strelitz; one whose character appears every thing we could wish, and that not taken upon very slight grounds. The numberless stories and insolent untruths propagated most artfully about this town have induced me to think that in accelerating this measure I was doing no unacceptable service to my King and country. If I have any opportunity before the council, I will give your Grace an account of the share I have had in this important affair.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUTE.

1761.

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Clare Hall, July 6. 1761.

My dear Lord,

Your Grace's goodness to me is such that I can never sufficiently thank you for it. I am heartily glad your Grace is so good as to come to town on Wednesday, not only for the business of that day, but most probably for the great business of all, the peace, the fate of which, I think, must be decided in a few days; I am sure your Grace's presence, then, is absolutely necessary. They sent me down yesterday Mr. Stanley's letters, which came on Saturday. Mr. Stanley sends a very short letter after he had had his conference with M. Choiseul, upon Mr. Pitt's letters of the 26th. Stanley was to have his answer in form from the Duc de Choiseul on Friday last. Stanley writes very shortly, but *I think* very comfortably. Choiseul agrees to our keeping all Canada as France had it. Stanley thinks they will give up the point of Cape Breton, provided they can have any place whatever assigned by us, and under our influence and command, to dry their fish. This may be very reasonable, if confined to the act of the treaty of Utrecht; but upon this *we* shall have *disputes*, as it admits a right to a fishery, or to come to fish in those seas, which, I suppose, cannot in justice or prudence be denied, as far as is permitted by the treaty of Utrecht. They give up Senegal, and never meant to have it, and Stanley thinks they

1761. will do so with Gorée. Dunkirk will be the great point of difficulty: that they refuse to agree to, upon the foot proposed, that is, the foot of the treaty of Utrecht. In that I suppose they mean to retain the fortifications on the side of the land, as they were permitted to do by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Stanley says this will be their last word, so we must now determine. I think that we should have some concert together before the meeting of the council, and know what Lord Bute thinks upon the whole, that we may judge what part he will take. This seems to me, from this short letter of Stanley's, to be the present most important situation, and on this probably will depend peace or war, and, consequently, in my opinion, the fate of this country.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE EARL OF BUTE.

Woburn Abbey, July 9. 1761.

My dear Lord,

As on my return home last night I found Lady Ossory at this place, I mentioned to her what your Lordship told me in relation to the young man Lord Gower informed you he intended to have made page to the King, had he continued Master of the Horse, which was Mr. Richard Fitzpatrick *,

* Afterwards the Right Honourable General Fitzpatrick, Secretary at War in Mr. Fox's administration. His friendship

her youngest son. Her Ladyship and I, who am his guardian, are very much obliged to your Lordship, and very thankfully accept the offer of his being made page to the Queen. Your Lordship's time was so much taken up yesterday, that I had no opportunity of talking to you on the great question of war or peace, which, I hear, is likely to be decided in the beginning of the next week. As upon the decision of this question the future happiness of his Majesty's reign and the wellbeing of this country, I think, absolutely depends, give me leave, my dear Lord, to take up a little of your time, in giving you my sentiments on this important affair, in which the King's honour and ease are so essentially concerned; the first of which cannot be carried to a higher pitch than by granting a firm and permanent peace to Europe, and the other, particularly at this joyful time of his taking a consort to his bed, cannot be too much consulted. Your Lordship will give me leave to ask those who are willing to carry on the war another year, what advantages they can hope to gain to this country by it? Is there not the greatest probability (and if there could be any thing sure in war, I might say certainty) that his Majesty's whole electoral dominions will be swallowed up, by the vast superiority the French have in those parts, long before the next campaign will be finished? Is there any possibility, in the ex- 1761.

with that great statesman is not his only distinction. He was one of the most accomplished men of his day.* He died April 25. 1813, aged 66.

1761. hausted state of this country, to put the army in those parts on a respectable footing? If these two positions of mine should be uncontroverted, which I am convinced must be the case, what are the advantages that Mr. Pitt thinks will be gained that will do more than compensate for these losses, for compensate we must? Mr. Pitt tells you, that by the conquest of Belleisle you are enabled to spread the alarm so thoroughly over the whole coast of France, which is on the ocean, that the people won't be able to sleep quietly in their beds. But can we do more? Upon the continent of France, after they have had so long a time to guard against us in the material places, such as Bourdeaux, Rochefort, Brest, L'Orient, and St. Maloes, I fear not, especially as it will be impossible to spare any more troops from hence or Ireland, without leaving your own coasts liable to be insulted, even by a handfull of men. What then in our situation can be expected from our efforts during this summer from Belleisle? why, possibly, the taking another island, or burning a few miserable villages upon the Continent. But Mr. Pitt will say, in the course of this year, even before December, I will take Martinico: to this I reply, it may be, you may not, and I am rather inclined to think, we should not succeed in that attempt: I am sure it must be, whether successful or not, the cause of the loss of much blood and treasure. Give me leave to expatiate a little upon the reasons which induce me to think our success there very doubtful. In the first place, the French have had

very sufficient time to throw in there succours of all kinds, and to make preparations to receive us. Secondly, the island is not only strong by art, but almost impregnable by nature, to which must be added, the climate makes it impossible for European troops to keep the field, and endure the fatigues of a siege without infinite loss, and I fear, by what we have seen at Belleisle the number and expertness of our engineers do not give much hopes of carrying strong places in a short time, and open trenches in that climate for a long time are certain destruction to the soldiers. Thirdly, they have in that island a number of free negroes, who, habituated to that climate, fighting *pro aris et focis*, are a dangerous enemy behind intrenchments, especially as they are noted to be excellent marksmen. These and many other reasons induce me to believe our success against Martinico doubtful; but should it be otherwise, will this conquest, which must necessarily cost so many lives of our brave countrymen, and such immense sums of money (and which I suppose the sugar planters will no more desire should be retained by us than they did in relation to Guadaloupe), be the means of obtaining us a better peace than we can command at present, or induce the French to relinquish a right of fishery, which if they do must put a final blow to their being any longer a naval power, though possessing a coast in the Channel and the ocean, extending from Dunkirk to the frontiers of Spain, and in the Mediterranean, from the frontiers of Spain to those of Italy. In- 1761.

1761. deed, my Lord, the endeavouring to drive France entirely out of any naval power is fighting against nature, and can tend to no one good to this country; but, on the contrary, must excite all the naval powers of Europe to enter into a confederacy against us, as adopting a system, viz. that of a monopoly of all naval power, which would be at least as dangerous to the liberties of Europe as that of Louis XIV. was, which drew almost all Europe upon his back. This naturally brings me to consider the terms upon which France seems now to be willing to agree with us, which in my opinion are, and I will use my Lord President's words, more advantageous to England than any ever concluded with France since King Henry V.'s time. May his Majesty, I pray to God, avail himself of this opportunity of excelling in glory and magnanimity the most famous of his predecessors, by giving his people a glorious and reasonable peace (which is the only one that can be lasting), and the rest of Europe an instance of his moderation, and a proof to his German subjects of his paternal care of them, in preferring their security and solid advantages to the laurels of farther conquests, which can be gained only by their ruin, and by the blood and treasure of his British subjects.

In the first place, they are willing to relinquish all Canada as they held it, without any exception of Cape Breton, provided England will permit them to dry their fish on a limited part of the coast of Newfoundland such as we shall agree to, and under

our influence and command. This, for the reasons I have above mentioned, I think ought to be granted them, and without any danger to our trade, as your Lordship very justly observed the other day, that as they have ceded their northern colonies, their future trade will be confined chiefly to old France. 1761.

I understand, by a letter I have received from the Duke of Newcastle, that they consent to cede Senegal, and Mr. Stanley thinks they will cede Goree.

Minorca they agree to yield up, and the affairs in the East Indies (where, by the *uti possidetis*, every thing is, as much as can be wished, in our favour,) are left to the King's magnanimity.

I think what relates to Dunkirk is the point of the greatest difficulty; for it is certainly for the interest of England, upon account of its vicinity, to prevent the French from making that place such an harbour as may be capable to give umbrage in any future war, of their being able to fit out from thence such an embarkation of troops as might alarm the capital or southern coasts of this kingdom. I have never myself been much in apprehension of invasions of England; for as they cannot bring cavalry over with them in any number, I think our always having a body of cavalry in this kingdom would soon enable us to put an end to any attempt of this nature. But, however, for the satisfaction of the nation, too great security cannot be taken to guard against any future alarms that may arise from this place, and therefore I think it should

1761. be tried whether France will not consent to put Dunkirk upon the footing it was the last treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. This, I think, would be sufficient to make reasonable people easy, as I do not find that since that time great improvements have been made to that harbour. I very well remember, a considerable time after the signing of that peace, whilst I was Secretary of State, I sent over, by his late Majesty's command, upon rumours being spread in the city of great works being carrying on at the harbour of Dunkirk, a sea officer, now a captain in the navy, there, who assured me there were no works of consequence then carrying on, or that had been begun since the conclusion of the treaty of peace.

I have gone over all the material points which occur to me; and having considered them over and over again with the utmost attention, and having talked the matter over with people of whose judgment I have the best opinion, and having likewise found a general aversion as well at court as in the town and country towards carrying on a bloody and expensive war, when the object for which it was begun ceases, and when there can be no prospect of bettering the conditions of peace than what we may now have, I should think myself inexcusable to my king and country did I refrain, out of consideration to any one man, to speak my mind, as fully as I have now set it down on paper, at the next council, at which this great affair may come to be debated, and to declare that in case it should be decided, *coute qui coute*, to carry on the war when

a peace may be obtained upon such honourable conditions as I have above mentioned, that I wash my hands from all the guilt of the blood that may be spilt, the treasure wasted, and from the unprosperous situation the affairs of this country will, I fear, be in from the moment the decision is made of carrying on the war for another campaign; and I hope his Majesty will (to whom I will with all humility give my reasons for my conduct) dispense with my further attendance at these meetings, where I can be no longer useful, and to which I have hitherto been called not in right of office, but through his Majesty's gracious opinion of my zeal for his service, and my integrity to the good of my country. 1761.

I hope your Lordship will excuse the frankness with which I write to you, and impute it to the great regard and honour which I have for you, and that I think it respectful to give notice of what I intend to say at the next meeting.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

EARL OF BUTE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, July 12. 1761.

My dear Lord,

I think myself very much obliged to your Grace for the very frank communication made me of your sentiments on the important business now

1761. in agitation. The best return I can offer, is to explain my own with equal sincerity. Such is my opinion of your Grace's ability, honour, and goodness of heart, that if objects strike me in a different manner from what they do you, any difference of opinion will be a very sensible mortification to me, and can only be warranted to myself by the most thorough conviction; in truth, my Lord, the subject now before us is of so interesting a nature, affecting equally the King's, the nation's glory, honour, happiness, and security, that I should think myself unworthy of the name of a good subject and an honest man, were I capable of permitting any private view, any personal motive, or selfish idea to influence my judgment upon it one instant. Err I may; but let that error be ascribed to want of capacity: nature will be in fault, my Lord, and nothing else. Forgive this tiresome preliminary. I hate to talk so much of myself; but my desire of appearing justified in your Grace's opinion made it necessary. In regard to the points mentioned in your Grace's last letter, I cannot help flattering myself that our ideas are nearly the same; suffer me, however, to state a few observations as they occurred to me in the perusal of it. First, all that we know hitherto of the French intentions proceeds from Stanley's conversations with Choiseul: the French memorial is not yet arrived; till when, it appears impossible to form any judgment with certainty: but supposing, with your Grace, that the French offers agree with Stanley's last despatch, I must observe, in the second place, that Stanley does

not state Choiseul as content *with the permission of drying fish on Newfoundland;* but treating that point as already ceded by us (a very unfair interpretation of Stanley's instructions), he superadds a demand of some territory on the coast, to establish a new colony with a civil government, which would, in my humble opinion, soon grow into another Louisburgh, and be the loadstone to attract all our French subjects in Canada. Thirdly, when Choiseul gives up Senegal, and seems facile on Gorée, it is with an express proviso, that the French be put in possession of a seaport on the slave coast, and, consequently, that they must have some equivalent for the gum trade. Fourthly, Stanley affirms Choiseul will not suffer the name of Dunkirk to be agitated; yet certainly the same treaty that gave the French a right to dry their fish on our ground insured to us the demolition of Dunkirk. France, after a successful war, suffered us to insist, at Aix, on a partial observance of the article in the former treaty relating to that town, and shall we now find it too difficult to procure the terms then offered us? Fifthly, Stanley owns that he gains no ground, concerning Newport and Ostend, both Dunkirks, my Lord, if left in French possession — the latter port, especially, capable of being made the most dangerous use of. 1761.

Now, my Lord, let me still flatter myself that the above points have not been fully stated to your Grace before, and that under these explanations our opinions may still nearly coincide. The Duke of Bedford cannot wish for peace more sincerely than

1761. I do; but let that peace prove in some measure answerable to the conquest we have made. Can ministers answer for it to the public, if they advise the King to sit down satisfied with a barren country, not equal in value to the duchies of Lorrain and Barr, and yet an acquisition invidious from its vast extent, while the French have restored to them the very essence of the whole? Why not rather, out of all our rich conquests, reserve to posterity something that will bring in a clear and certain additional revenue, to enable them to pay the interest of the enormous debt we have by this most expensive war laid upon them?

Your Grace takes notice (with great humanity) of the storm ready to burst on the Electorate: I see it, and from my heart lament it; and should, of all men, be the most ungrateful to the best of princes, if I presumed to offer, from vain-glorious, interested, or ambitious views, any advice to my royal master that could tend to the ruin of an innocent people, whose only crime consisted in being his subjects; but alas! my Lord, the fate of that poor country is on the point of decision—perhaps the die is already cast; and its safety must depend more on the courage of his Majesty's troops, than on any concessions we can make, unless they be of a nature that your Grace would, I am certain, scorn to put your hand to; besides, let the French once perceive that you lower your terms in proportion to the danger threatening the Electorate, they will not fail to superadd new conditions. Thus they have

ever acted; for the truth of which, I appeal to almost every treaty they have been concerned in. As to the difficulty of raising men and money for continuing the war (as hitherto conducted), I agree with your Grace—I see it will be very great; and I therefore join with you in wishing heartily for a peace—a peace such as the bulk of the nation have a right to expect from such a triumphant war. Is there no moderation, my dear Lord, in offering to restore to France her trade, at present annihilated: her valuable possessions in the East Indies; the rich islands of Guadaloupe and Mariagalante; the most essential one of Belleisle, and (if it must be so) the liberty of drying their fish and fishing on the banks? add to all these, a port for negro trade on the coast of Africa, if such an one can be found. Are these haughty terms from people in our situation? or shall we, on the other side, be deemed unreasonable, or thought to aim at *universal dominion*, if we reserve to ourselves Senegal and Gorée; Canada, with all its appurtenances, islands, gulfs, coasts, and fisheries; if we insist on the restitution of Minorca, and on the treaty of Aix for what concerns Dunkirk; if we expect the French should evacuate Westphalia, Newport, and Ostend? Are these ideas different from your Grace's? I hope not; but if I prove mistaken, I can only declare, as an honest man and faithful servant, that I am ready to give it as my humble opinion to my sovereign—that his Majesty cannot in honour or with safety sheath the sword on less advantageous terms than 1761.

1761. I have mentioned. I now come to the latter part of your Grace's letter, wherein you mention a resolution that I own gives me the greatest uneasiness. I examined carefully what has passed hitherto between the French and us, but cannot find any reason to infer that that vanquished country intend to break off negotiation, if we should happen to reject any of the conditions they are now about to propose. Your Grace must allow that an ultimatum from a beaten enemy is most unusual in the beginning of a treaty. We know the French are exhausted; that they in the most humiliating manner sued for peace: have they bettered their condition, or is ours become worse since their first offers? All our foreign intelligence declares the impossibility of their continuing the war: the intrigues of the Court, as opened by Stanley, show how necessary peace is become to them, not only from the misery of the people, but on the minister's own personal account. If we reject one proposition, they will try another, and by negotiation peace may at last be made; do not then, my Lord, deprive the King of a most valuable counsellor, of an able servant, in absenting yourself at a time, when he will in all probability have most occasion for your service. Forgive me for using a freedom I can claim no right to. Excuse the enormous length of this letter, both owing to the very great regard with which

I am, &c.

BUTE.

1761.

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

(Extract.)

Claremont, August 9. 1761.

The point of the fisheries is and has been almost the sole obstacle to our peace: it is equally insisted upon on both sides; and your Grace will see, by an extract of a paragraph of an old letter from Mr. Stanley, which came yesterday by Mr. Mackenzie, and which I received this day here, that the Court of France will not depart from the fishery.

I really wish to know your Grace's thoughts upon this new and important point, and how far they can or ought to insist upon this immemorial right of fishery in the gulf of the river St. Lawrence. That right was always thought to belong to Canada, and the possessors of it. It is easy to make very great and reasonable objections to the conduct of France in this negotiation, and to the different proposals which they have made of peace. But it is not so easy to say what may be the consequences of breaking off the negotiation, and to determine which may be the greatest evil, the coming nearer to the proposals of France, and particularly the allowing the fishery in the gulf, and the giving the French some unfortified place for their fisheries and seamen, or the risking the consequences of continuing the war, or rather the beginning of a new one, against both France and Spain. I own I desire to hear the thoughts of others before I determine my own, and most

1761. particularly your Grace's, who, without a compliment, are perfectly master of these points. Your Grace will be soon sent for, if you are not already. If you are in town on Thursday next, I must beg you would do me the honour to dine with me at Newcastle House with my Lord Hardwicke and my Lord Mansfield.

I am, &c.

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

August 16. 1761.

I was not in the least surprised at the manner your Grace expressed yourself at the last council, and, therefore, though I shall not presume to offer my advice, or to press you to return again to meetings, yet I think it incumbent on me to acquaint your Grace with what passed between his Majesty and me this morning. It was necessary for me to attend him on some business relative to my office. He began on the subject of our council on Friday; expressed his astonishment and concern; said the thing that hurt him the most was the declaration made by the Duke of Bedford; that he should feel most sensibly this loss of the assistance of a man of your Grace's abilities and character, particularly at this juncture; that indeed he did not wonder at your declaration,

but yet hoped you would be prevailed on to attend again; that he thought the point of the fishery had not been sufficiently explained to the court of France; that it would be very necessary before the negotiation was entirely broke off, that we should state more clearly the terms on which we would make peace, that we might be able to justify ourselves to the world; and as a meeting of this sort would be most critical, he should be very glad that you were present at it. I told him that I had often heard your Grace express your dislike at being present, and that nothing but your duty to his Majesty had induced you to continue so disagreeable an attendance; but what had passed the two last days had, I feared, confirmed you in your resolution of not attending any more. I then took the liberty of telling my opinion in regard to the fishery: — that I thought Cape Breton and St. Jean were too near our coasts, but that I could see no objection to giving them a small island at a greater distance, with a liberty of fishing in the gulf. He seemed to be of my mind, and intimated as if many more of the council would be in that way of thinking; that we ought to settle a minute to that purpose at the next meeting, and then have another council to see that a letter to Mr. Stanley was prepared agreeably to it; and expressed over again his desire that you should be there. After such a conversation, I thought, my dear Lord, I should be wanting in friendship to your Grace if I did not inform you of it, though I had no authority 1761.

1761. to say any thing from the King. The conversation was long, and there were many passages in it which cannot be set down on paper which pleased me, and, I am persuaded, would have been satisfactory to you. I should flatter myself there would be a visible alteration in the next council. As this letter is on a very delicate point, I need not caution your Grace not to show it, and to be silent on the subject of it. You may be sure your friends will be happy to have your presence; at the same time, perhaps, it is too much to ask, and must be left to your own better judgment to determine. I declined giving my opinion; for as Mr. Pitt had refused to submit his paper to any alteration, there was no room left for deliberation, and therefore I should not enter into it. As I was going away he desired to know what he must say to the King; I replied, that he might tell his Majesty I would give no opinion on a paper that he would not allow should be altered.

Since court, I was at my Lord President's: he saw Bussy yesterday, who told him he had received Mr. Pitt's letter; that it was very high, and if he had a mind to protract things, he should be justified in sending it to France; but as he was desirous of peace, he would take no notice of it, but send Mr. Pitt word he was ready to attend him, and would then state to him the terms on which peace might be made. By this your Grace will perceive that our next council will be a most material one, in which the fate of this country will

most probably be decided; however, I will say no more, but leave it to your serious consideration. Your Grace will, I hope, believe, that at all times, and in all situations, 1761.

I am, &c.

DEVONSHIRE.*

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Mistley, Tuesday, August 18. 1761.

Calcraft came here last night, and tells me that the day before he had a great deal of discourse with Lord Shelbourne, the purport of which was the probable disunion of the present administration. Your dinner at Newcastle House after the council is reckoned a symptom of faction, and they are prepared to conquer the company who dined there whenever they shall think proper to stir. They reckon themselves certain of victory, and the Marshals Bute and Pitt are certainly united. Your Grace is set down as one devoted to the Duke of Newcastle, and will not be so great a favourite as heretofore. Lord Shelbourne, who always

* William, fourth Duke of Devonshire, Lord Chamberlain. In 1755 he had held the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and in the following year he succeeded the Duke of Newcastle as First Lord of the Treasury. He died in 1764, at the early age of 44. Walpole, with whom he was no favourite, admits that "he enjoyed a character uncommonly respected, and was universally regretted by all the Whigs as the head of their party."—*Memoirs of George III.*, vol. ii. p. 21.

1761. laments that virtue does not govern, and who always thinks that she is possessed only by his own friends, is sorry that you and your friends are likely to be detached from her. It seems (*but this is a great secret*) that your Grace's original offence was not being more hearty in the getting Colonel Clark * his pension. If you remember, you would not make it a particular favour done to yourself: how could your Grace have so little virtue? They expect opposition in Parliament. Will the Duke of Newcastle raise the money first, and be turned out afterwards? If he will, I shall think that a man who is going out of the world has as little knowledge of it as they who are just coming into it. If I don't approve of a particular measure, I don't see that in common sense, or in common honesty either, I am obliged to use my influence, which happens to be the most extensive into the bargain, to carry it into execution. You (who have a great deal more of this virtue, which is so much talked of and so little understood) are of opinion, that it is right to assist the administration, though you disapprove of their principal measure; pray, my Lord, consider that matter over again, and be very certain that you are not too enthusiastic, not for a politician, but for an honest man. Besides, if you consider the question closely, you

* Colonel Clark had planned the expedition to Rochefort in 1757, and is described in the political pamphlets of that day as an officer of distinguished merit. Walpole, apparently with more foundation, calls him "a military adventurer."—*Memoirs of George II.*, vol. ii. p. 235.

will find that such who contribute to the raising the money for carrying on the war are furnishing their opponents with an answer to what they shall say against the prosecution of it. 1761.

Calcraft says he understood there was to be another council as yesterday about peace and war: I fancy he was mistaken; however, I long much to hear when your Grace will be summoned again.

I am, &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Devonshire House, August 18. 1761.

The King has said so much to me again upon your attending the council to-morrow, and was so inquisitive whether you would come or not, that I could not avoid informing him, that nothing but his Majesty's special commands could induce you to attend any more, and that if you was to comply, it would be with great reluctance and uneasiness to yourself; notwithstanding which, the King has ordered me to write to your Grace to desire your presence to-morrow, which he thinks essentially necessary for his service at this critical conjuncture, and hopes you will not refuse it.

I have had much discourse with Lord Bute, and we shall not differ to-morrow; for whatever may have been his former opinion, you will find he will give it up and be with us, so that I do hope we

1761. shall be able to state in a clear and decisive manner the terms on which we will make peace. This alteration will, I hope, induce you to swallow a pill that I must confess is rather bitter; but I flatter myself the consideration of the service you may be of to the King and this country will render it less disagreeable, and I must do the King the justice to say, that I never saw him so anxious upon any point as your Grace's coming on this occasion.

I am, &c.

DEVONSHIRE.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Mistley, August 27. 1761.

I do not much wonder that your Grace did not give your attendance at the last council; but I own I lament it as the surest symptom of the continuance of this war, and the approach of a fresh one with Spain. Mr. Pitt, it is plain, does govern; and the worst of it is, that he governs not only in the cabinet council, but in the opinions of the people too. I have conversed with some of my neighbours here about peace, which they all wish for, and will tell you they shall be undone if the war continues; but the disorder of the council is epidemical, for they will tell you in the same breath, that you must keep every thing which you have taken from the French, and have every thing returned to you which you have lost by the war.

Depend upon it, my Lord, this is the madness of the times, and there is but one cure for it, and that is, a defeat of some one of our projects. Whilst we succeed and make conquests and bonfires, the value of the capture is no part of the consideration —fresh fuel is added to the delirium, and the fire is kept constantly fanned. For my own part, I am so convinced of the destruction which must follow the continuance of the war, that I should not be sorry to hear that Martinico or the next windmill which you attack should get the better of you. 1761.

The wind is here at present south-west, and blows fresh, so that her Majesty must have a bad and tedious passage. I hear at London they make her fly; but if this weather holds, she will not be there this week yet.

I am, &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Claremont, September 13. 1761.

Though I acquainted Mr. Rigby in general with the substance of the last letters from Mr. Stanley, of the 4th, 6th, and 8th, which arrived here on Friday last, the 11th, I have got a copy of the most material letter of the 6th, (which, indeed,

1761. contains the whole, with the other extracts,) which I send for your Grace's information. Your Grace will find that these letters vary very much from Mr. Stanley's former letters, and that in those Mr. Stanley expresses much doubt of the sincerity of the Duc de Choiseul, and asserts positively, *that the peace is not to be made at present.* This different language from him (from *whatever cause* it may arise) gives great handle to those who have always (and I think still without foundation) asserted that the court of France was never sincere, to persist in that opinion, and to support it with vehemence. Mr. Rigby will have informed your Grace, also, of what Mr. Pitt had declared to the King, my Lord Bute, the Duke of Devonshire, and myself, with regard to his retiring from business. Whether there was any reality in it at all, or whether it was meant only in the case of a peace being to be concluded on lower terms than those last offered, or whether it meant to comprehend all events either of peace or war, I will not pretend to determine; but, to be sure, in the present circumstances of the nation, it is an important consideration.

A council is appointed for Tuesday next, the 15th instant, to deliberate upon what it may be proper to do, upon the whole, and what orders should be sent to Mr. Stanley. The King has told Mr. Pitt that he will refer it entirely to his council. I found my Lord Bute, the Duke of Devonshire, and my Lord Hardwicke inclined to think upon the

letters of the 2d, from Mr. Stanley (and which arrived on the 8th), that we could not avoid sending for Mr. Stanley back, as he had wavered much in his opinion, and seemed neither to answer for the Duc de Choiseul's sincerity, nor to give any hopes of the success of his negotiation. What their opinion may be upon these last letters, I really don't know, not having seen my Lord Hardwicke since, nor had any discourse with the Duke of Devonshire. I was, and am still, inclined, *myself*, to be of a different opinion, for two reasons. I can see no great inconveniences that can arise from Stanley's remaining there. Incidents may happen, of which good use may be made; and your Grace will see some points are not finally rejected by M. Choiseul. There is, also, another reason *which prevails with me*, and that is, that the immediate recall of Mr. Stanley will make it much more difficult to raise our money. But whatever my private opinion may be, I am sure your Grace will think it unadvisable for me to insist upon it when the *whole* council is of another mind; especially in a point which would certainly determine Mr. Pitt's resolution, which, for many reasons, *now*, he may be glad of a pretence to take. I have thus, without troubling your Grace with a long letter of reasoning, given you all the material lights which I have, and shortly stated to you where I apprehend the question will turn at the next meeting, viz. *whether Mr. Stanley should be ordered home or not?* I 1761.

1761. have told the King (and his Majesty extremely approved of it) that I would acquaint your Grace with the *whole*, and with my earnest wish that you would always attend a council, where such important questions as these are to come under consideration, and where *I* must necessarily be *myself*. But that I would leave to your Grace to do what you thought proper upon the occasion. I know your goodness to me. You will pity me and my situation. I know, also, that you will do justice to the respect, affection, and attachment with which I am, &c.

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Jemmy Pelham's, Friday, four o'clock,
October 2. 1761.

I am this moment come from council, and am setting out for Claremont, so I have only time to acquaint your Grace, that the beginning of hostilities immediately against Spain came again before us. Every lord adhered to his former opinion, and spoke strongly. Lord President, the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Hardwicke, Lord Anson, Lord Ligonier, Lord Mansfield, Lord Bute, and myself. *Against it*, my Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt adhered to the *paper* they had given to the King. My Lord Temple took his leave of us and left the council.

Mr. Pitt in a long speech showed the impossibility of his going on in office, and *in effect* quitted.* I beg my most respectful compliments to the Duchess of Bedford and Lady Caroline. 1761.

I am, &c.

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

* Mr. Pitt considered war with Spain inevitable; Lord Bute opposed his opinions, which he called rash and unadvisable; Lord Granville thought them precipitate, and desired time for consideration; Lord Temple supported Mr. Pitt: the Duke of Newcastle was neuter, and the Lord Chancellor absent. This was on the 18th of September. A few days after, at a second council, at which all the ministers were present, Mr. Pitt re-urged the necessity of an immediate war with Spain; stating that he did not ground his resolution of attacking Spain upon what that court had said or might say, but upon what she had actually done. The majority declared themselves not yet convinced of the necessity of the measure, and the cabinet broke up without coming to any resolution. At a third meeting, however, on Mr. Pitt again urging the necessity of recalling Lord Bristol, every other member, with the exception of Lord Temple, objected to the measure. Warmed by this opposition, Mr. Pitt declared that "this was the moment for humbling the whole house of Bourbon; and if he could not prevail in this instance, this should be the last time he would sit in that council. He thanked the ministers of the late King for their support; said he himself was called to the ministry by the voice of the people, to whom he conceived himself accountable for his conduct, and that he would not remain in a situation which made him responsible for measures he was no longer allowed to guide. — See *Chatham Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 143. *Walpole's George III.*, vol. i. p. 80. The arguments against the course recommended by Mr. Pitt are best stated in Adolphus's "History of George III." vol. i. p. 46. The precise grounds of his determination are still involved in mystery. No proof has yet been adduced of the assertion that he had obtained secret information of the engagements recently formed by the Spanish court with France. With the impression, however, which he entertained of the failure of Mr. Stanley's negotiations, the undisguised preference of French interests of late shown by Spain naturally made him regard the close union of the two countries against England as inevitable. Nor was it long before this took place. In the very same month instructions of a resolute character were for the first time despatched to Madrid by Lord Bute. In the month of January following hostilities were declared.

1761.

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Newcastle House, October 6. 1761.

My dear Lord,

Yesterday Mr. Pitt waited upon the King and resigned the seals. He expressed great concern that he was obliged to take that step, from his differences in opinion from all the rest of the council; that he thought his remaining in office would only create difficulties and altercations in his Majesty's councils, and that out of office he would do every thing in his power to support his Majesty, and recommended himself to the King's goodness. His Majesty showed great regard for him and his services; was sorry to part with him; but that upon the point in question his Majesty agreed so much with the majority of his council, that if in this instance they had been of opinion with him, Mr. Pitt, though the King would have yielded to their opinion, it would have been with difficulty that his Majesty could bring himself to it; that he would be very glad to give Mr. Pitt any mark of his favour, in consideration of his services to the public and to his family; and they are finding out something to offer Mr. Pitt, to make him easy in his circumstances.* The first thought, I believe, was to per-

* Lady Hester Pitt was raised to the peerage, with a pension of three thousand pounds for three lives; a very inadequate reward of Mr. Pitt's great public services, but an inappropriate sequel to his eloquent invectives against other grants of the same description.

suade me to consent to bring George Grenville into the Treasury as Chancellor of the Exchequer: I believe your Grace will not wonder that I could not consent to that. G. Grenville was thought of for Secretary of State, but he would not take his brother-in-law's place; he is, therefore, to remain Treasurer of the Navy, to be of the Cabinet Council, and to be at all our meetings, and to take upon him the conduct of the House of Commons. Upon George Grenville's refusal, it was this day determined to offer the seals to my Lord Egremont, and I believe he is to give his answer to-morrow. I understand George Grenville, who is to be at the head of the House of Commons, will be particularly obliged by it. I am sure your Grace will think that in the present distress, when every body should do their utmost to support the King, and to supply any defect that may arise from Mr. Pitt's resignation, any scheme proposed for that purpose should be supported; and, indeed, upon mature consideration, I don't know any body that could be put at the head of the House of Commons so little liable to objections as George Grenville. There is a letter come in this day from my Lord Bristol, wherein he gives an account that General Wall had expressed his concern and surprise at the idle report that Spain was to come to a rupture with England; and assured my Lord Bristol, that there never was a time when the King of Spain wished more to live in the most perfect friendship with the King of Great Britain than at present. This seems a flat 1761.

1761. contradiction to all Mr. Pitt's late suppositions and assertions. Some think, if this had come some days ago, *that* would not have happened which did yesterday.

I am, &c.

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

EARL OF BUTE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, October 10. 1761.

The Duke of Newcastle told me that he has informed your Grace of the transaction of this curious week. The storm seems blowing over, and domestic peace likely to find footing amongst us once again: I wish I could say the same of the public one; but events yet to come must bring that forward, and vigour appears more likely to prevail on a very tricking enemy than supplication. A person known to be regarded with so partial an eye by his sovereign as I am must stand highly responsible in such critical hours: Mr. Pitt going out has added considerably to that responsibility*; but secure of my own heart, depending on those who, with me, wish nothing but happiness and glory to their King and country, I shall go on without dismay or hesitation, and I hope I may be

* See an interesting letter from Lord Bute to Lord Melcombe, on the 8th of December, to the same effect. — *Adolphus, History of George III.*, vol. i. p. 572. Appendix.

allowed to rank the Duke of Bedford amongst my best and warmest friends. His support must be most sensibly felt by every minister, but by none so much as myself, who, from the highest opinion, from the ties of alliance, and from a perfect confidence both in his head and heart, sometimes flatter myself I am not unworthy of his friendship; no, not even when in the integrity of my heart I happen a little to differ in opinion from him. Permit me to offer my most respectful regard. 1761.

BUTE.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

St. James's Place, Monday, October 12. 1761.

I am just returned from court, where his Majesty was very gracious to me, and inquired much after your health and motions; asked if you went to Bath, when you came to town, &c. &c., and joked with me upon Lady Caroline's love of the country. I saw the Duke of Newcastle there as I went into the levee room, but he was gone before I came out of it, so I had not one word with him. I propose calling upon him in my way to Mistley, to-morrow, and if I hear any thing worth writing, your Grace may be sure to hear from me.

The city and the people are outrageous about Lady *Cheat'em*, as they call her, and her husband's pension. The common council is summoned for to-morrow; and a motion was intended to be made

1761. in it to address the King to take Mr. Pitt again into his service. They may now proceed to cleansing their common sewers, and lighting their lamps, their proper business. Lady Esther kissed hands yesterday, and Mr. Pitt was at the drawing-room, but I am told few people took notice of him; he is, however, perfectly satisfied. Lord Talbot * and his Tories are angry that this reward is given to him; and they say in the city that his Majesty has broke his word with them by this bounty to Pitt, for that he promised he would not govern by corruption.

I saw Lord Egremont at court, and wished him joy—I saw it, indeed, in his countenance. The reverse was as visible in Lord Temple's, who, Mr. Elliott † informed me, does not take all this business

* Lord Talbot's decision of character and readiness in public speaking, qualities in which Lord Bute was palpably deficient, gave him considerable influence among the Tories. He had joined them in early life from resentment of some disrespect shown towards the memory of his father, Lord Chancellor Talbot, sharpened, no doubt, by the countenance he received from the Prince of Wales; and his long services to the little court at Leicester House were amply repaid at the accession of George III. In his moral conduct, no less than in his political creed, he was very unlike his excellent father. His abilities are admitted by the writers of the day, though the only instance that has survived of their practical application is the reform he attempted in the royal household, so graphically described by Burke, as having been defeated "because the King's turnspit was a member of parliament."—(*Speech on Economical Reform*, Works, vol. ii. p. 289.) Lord Talbot died in 1782.

† Mr. (afterwards Sir Gilbert) Elliott was the confidant and counsellor of Lord Bute. In the former reign he had acted in close concert with Pitt, and on the King's accession he tried to effect a reconciliation between those statesmen; but finding Pitt haughtily inaccessible to all overtures, he adhered to the favourite. His advice seems to have hastened Lord Bute's taking the government, and might subsequently have prevented its

in the same manner Mr. Pitt does, and gave Mr. Elliott notice that he meant to appeal to the public for his justification. 1761.

I have sent for our opera tickets, and Miss Wrottesley shall be put in possession of them; but they will be of no use to her yet awhile, for the subscription operas are not to begin yet.

I am going to dine at the tavern with Mr. Fox, and will not seal my letter in case I should pick up any more intelligence.

Almack's, eight o'clock.

Jemmy Grenville has *resigned* the cofferer's place to-day.

Eleven new regiments are ordered to be raised —Grahame, the Queen's secretary, to have one, with the rank of Colonel.* I never heard the names of any of the other people, who are most of them young majors and young lieutenant colonels.

failure, had Lord Bute possessed resolution to follow it. He was the son of Lord Minto, Lord Justice Clerk of Scotland, and was brought up to the Scotch bar, which he left to try his fortunes in parliament. One of his earliest speeches established his reputation as a first-rate debater, and he maintained it to the last. After Lord Bute's downfall, he attached himself to the King, and was regarded more as the King's friend than as a minister. Hence his preferment was to lucrative rather than influential offices; and he did not attain the position in the country to which his abilities and accomplishments fully entitled him. He died in 1782. The present Lord Minto is his grandson.

* Colonel Grahame subsequently rose to the rank of general. He remained for some years at court. The latter part of his life was passed at Edinburgh, where he bore the character of an amiable, inoffensive man.

1761. Mr. Pitt is to be burnt in effigy to-night in great pomp in the city. Your Grace will perceive in to-day's Public Advertiser that his coach-horses are to be sold *; his house in St. James's Square is also to be let: he will have no house in town, and live altogether at Hayes.

I am, &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. FORESTER.†

Woburn Abbey, October 12. 1761.

Dear Sir,

I have considered with all the attention I am capable of the subject-matter of your letter, and am sorry it is at present out of my power to interfere in your behalf for the Speaker's chair in the House of Commons, having no longer ago than yesterday wrote to the Duke of Newcastle, in answer to a letter I had but that day received from him, in relation to the choice of the future Speaker, and recommending a gentleman to him, whom I apprehend to be, under the present difficulties he informed me they were in about fixing upon a

* A piece of ostentation which Walpole attacked fairly enough. "Three thousand a year for three lives, and fifty thousand pounds of his own, will not keep a coach and six." — *Letters*, vol. iv. p. 185.

† Mr. Forester, M. P. for Dunwich. He was a lawyer in considerable practice, as appears from the reports of the day.

proper person, as little liable to objection as any one. Several were named to me, as thought on for that employment; but the objections made to each were so many, that I was desired by him as a friend to suggest one that should appear to me to be fit for that chair; this is what I have done, and, consequently, you see, that till it is decided whether the objections that may be made against my friend* are weighty enough to debar him from that honour I can't possibly mention any other person. I will freely tell you the objections which I think would be urged against you by those who are not your friends; which are, the short time you have sat in the House of Commons, your being a Scotchman, and your former connections with the Tories. Don't think these objections would have weight with me, but that I am sure they would be made by others. I am sorry you should think it necessary to make any excuses to me, for having applied for my good offices in this affair. I can assure you no one would be more zealous to serve you than myself, and I am always pleased when my friends act with the frankness you have done — you see I do the same. I propose being in town by the meeting in Parliament: I fear your business will not permit my seeing you sooner. 1761.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

* Mr. Rigby. See next letter.

1761.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

(Private.)

St. James's Place, Tuesday, October 13. 1761.

I am just now returned from the Duke of Newcastle's, with whom I have had a long conference of near two hours. He is excessively happy with your correspondence, which he said was full of the best advice for the public service, and that he yesterday had told the King so. He is not so much terrified at these resignations and bustles as might be expected; and so long as your Grace and the Duke of Devonshire will continue your support to him, he will persevere stoutly. To do him justice, he did not put your two methods of support upon the same footing; for he confessed the dread the whole council used to be in lest Mr. Pitt should frown, and that you was the single man who dared to deliver an opinion contrary to his, though agreeable to every other person's sentiments present. Indeed I believe he spoke truth when he declared he envied you that spirit more than your great fortune or abilities. He as much applauded the like conduct of yours with regard to differing in opinion with Lord Bute, which he owned, for certain other causes, most members of the cabinet were as shy of doing as from Mr. Pitt.

Your goodness in mentioning my name to him in your letter was the means of opening a conversation about myself and my situation. The chair which your Grace has mentioned, his Grace thinks,

as I do, would not suit me, and knows would not be granted me, and therefore begs it may not be mentioned. But he has been very explicit and very kind with respect to any other favour I might wish to have, and your Grace thinks I should deserve. I told him fairly I should be very glad of a place, and of some business too, but that I never would take one from any other recommendation but the Duke of Bedford's. That my wishes would lead me to the Board of Treasury if I could choose, but that I foresaw difficulties from Mr. Pelham and others, even if a vacancy should be made at the Board by a removal of any of the present lords to the cofferer's place, and if the Duke of Bedford should be disposed to ask any thing for me. He told me it was his point to bring Mr. Pelham to his own Board, but he should like me very well there too, if it would oblige the Duke of Bedford; but that he does not think a vacancy there likely to happen at present, though he vows he does not guess who is to be cofferer. He talked to me of the Admiralty; but I told him I was near forty years old, and it was too late to come in at the tail of that Board under such young people as Lord Villiers. He recollected, then, that the next vacancy there is promised to Lord Edgcumbe, and said he would have me look higher than that. Upon my word, I could not desire more show of friendship or regard from the nearest friend I have in the world, hardly from your Grace yourself, than he showed me during this whole discourse. He cast about for every thing that is, or is likely to be, vacant; and 1761.

1761. told me that my pretensions were heightened by the great consequence of my patron, of which I ought to avail myself, and in doing which, I should have his whole weight and support. He recommended to me the present time of resignations as a proper one for application, and the mode of doing it to be through Lord Bute, without any supposed intimation to him previously had. His own method, he told me, now of doing his business (of difficulty) is, by message to Lord Bute through the Duke of Devonshire, and by that roundabout way to the closet. That Lord Bute and he are connected strictly together, and must be so; for when that chain breaks there is an end of every thing. I told him that your Grace had, no longer ago than last Sunday, declared the necessity of that union, and should do all in your power to promote it, which pleased him mightily. Lord Melcombe has asked for the privy seal, but I believe has no chance of getting it; and it is imagined Lord Hardwicke will have it, though the Duke of Newcastle vows that Lord Bute has never said a word to him about it.

I hope I have not said too much about myself in this letter. The last thing I mean to do, or wish to do, is to lay your Grace under any difficulties about me. And if you don't like to ask any favours from the court, I am perfectly happy and satisfied with those you are so good as to shower upon me out of employment.

P.S. I don't think it impossible that the Duke of Newcastle had mentioned your idea of the chair

for me to the King yesterday, and found that it would not do there, for he said the Court would not come to the chair, but would object to many who had been named. But he was clearly of opinion himself that it would not do in the House also. Indeed it would not. 1761.

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Claremont, October 17. 1761.

I have the honour of your Grace's two letters, with that enclosed to my Lord Bute, which I here return to your Grace. Mr. Rigby will have acquainted your Grace with what passed upon this subject, and I am very happy that your Grace approves what I said to him. Your Grace's commands will always be obeyed by me when it is in my power, but never with more pleasure than when they are in favour of Mr. Rigby, for whom I have a most sincere regard and friendship. Your Grace will be surprised when I acquaint you that I have not the least knowledge for whom my Lord Bute designs either the privy seal, or the cofferer's place. I sounded him upon the privy seal; and all that I could get from him was, that it would be put in commission to gain time. When I found his Lordship so reserved upon the first, I never so much as mentioned the vacancy of the cofferer to him; being always sure to receive for answer, that I am always solicitous for my own friends; and it is

1761. pretty natural to be so, especially when I carry so much weight, as I am afraid I must do in the present conjuncture. Your Grace's letter to my Lord Bute is extremely proper, and I hope and believe it will carry the weight with it it ought to do.

I am very sorry to acquaint your Grace that our warlike affairs go as ill as is possible. I hope that will make us think seriously and speedily of peace. The King of Prussia, after his miraculous success or escape, and having, as we thought, secured the end of this campaign without any misfortune, has, to the surprise of every body, lost, by a sudden assault from General Landohn, the strong and important fortress of Schweidnitz, with all his artillery, magazines, &c. What encouragement this may give to the Russians, who seemed to be going off to Poland, but are not yet gone, and to the slow Austrians, nobody can yet tell, or even judge how the campaign may yet end on that side: on the other, Prince Ferdinand seems preparing for repassing the Dymel; M. Broglio is advancing towards Brunswick and Hanover, and, it is said, has already begun to lay siege to the first place, whilst all the considerable people at Hanover are running from thence as fast as they can. This is a most cruel circumstance; and Admiral Rodney and all the transports, &c. are still detained by contrary winds. All this happens immediately after the late resignation, and cannot be *by any body* imputed to the want of activity or ability in those who were left. I conclude we shall soon

desire your Grace to give yourself the trouble to come to town, for some measure must be taken before the meeting of the Parliament. Never did the situation of the public require more attention than at present, or make it more necessary for all the friends to their King and country to give early attendance in Parliament. For that purpose, I shall take the liberty to apply, in the best way I can, to my friends, to be at the meeting at the Cockpit, Monday, Nov. 2. Your Grace is so good to me as to encourage me to ask the favour of you to send to your friends. I have put down a few names*, which I take the liberty to enclose to you, and hope you will pardon me. Mr. George Grenville will preside at the Cockpit. He has sent to me a promise to come up to town. Mr. Grenville was very much set upon having Mr. Martin † speaker, and my Lord Bute supported him very much in it. I own I did not think Mr. Martin the lawyer (a Tory as much as Mr. Prowse) a person of dignity or consequence enough for the chair, or to get the better of the name of Tory, under which he went, which I hope is not the case of Mr. Prowse. 1761.

I am, &c.

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

* The list contained ten names.

† Mr. Martin was a dependent of Lord Bute's. He had been for some years Secretary of the Treasury, and was esteemed in that capacity. He spoke seldom in the House, but generally with considerable effect.

1761.

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Newcastle House, October 20. 1761.

Mr. Rigby telling me that he intended to wait upon your Grace to-morrow at Woburn, I make use of that opportunity to trouble your Grace with the few occurrences since I had the honour to trouble you last. My Lord Bute has not mentioned to me your Grace's last letter, though he showed me that which he had received some few days before. I am in doubt whether I shan't begin to speak of it to his Lordship; but as he will see Mr. Rigby to-morrow, it is very probable he may then speak to me upon the subject, in which case I shall not fail to fling in my poor mite. Mr. Prowse* has declined the chair in a most handsome manner, on account of a distemper, which does not permit him to sit long in a chair at a time. They have therefore determined to have Sir J. Cust, I doubt not a very bright one, but a sort of a plodding orderly man.† Lord Bute

* Member for Somersetshire in five successive parliaments, and one of the most influential of what was called "the country party." He refused the post office from Lord Chatham in 1767, and died in the same year, aged 59, leaving an only son, who subsequently died without issue.—See *Walpole's Memoirs of George III.*, vol. i. p. 87. note.

† Sir John Cust was of the same class and opinions as Mr. Prowse.—(*Walpole's George III.*, p. 87.) His qualifications for the chair were respectable, and his appointment was in the first instance not disapproved by the public. It was want of reso-

still remains upon his reserve with me as to the disposition of vacant employments: that sort of conduct does not tend to establish such a concert and confidence as is extremely necessary at this time. Mr. Pitt's most extraordinary and unwarrantable letter* has had a most extraordinary and unanswerable effect, and has brought back to him his mad noisy city friends, who were for a time displeased with him. I hear the common council intend to address something, to show they continue to show their old factious spirit; but I hope we shall *now* disperse, and not endeavour to gain them by compliance in our measures. 1761.

The Parliament will meet the day appointed, Nov. 3.: the speech is under consideration: it will be very difficult and delicate; how to say enough about war and warlike measures, and not to say too much. My Lord Hardwicke is trying at it. His Majesty left it to him. I am persuaded there will be no hurt done. Mr. Pitt's discourse is his resolution to support war and warlike measures; and if he finds any want of activity or ability in employing the supplies given for that purpose, then he will cry aloud. My Lord Temple will begin his busy opposition the first day. We have all unanimously advised his Majesty that orders should be sent to my Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to insist

lution rather than of knowledge, that made him acquit himself so ill in the Wilkite discussions: they appear to have hastened his death, which took place in 1770.

* Mr. Pitt's letter to Mr. Beckford, giving the reasons for his resignation in very proper and moderate language.—See *Chatham Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 158.

1761. upon their passing that Money Bill, which they sent over in consequence of the order of council; which Bill the late Lords Justices, I think very modestly, desired might be dropped, to preserve the peace of the kingdom, and to prevent any opposition to the King's business.

I am, &c.

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Newcastle House, October 22. 1761.

The friendship your Grace honours me with, and my dependence upon your powerful protection, will, I flatter myself, be my excuse for troubling your Grace so soon with another letter. I could not in justice to myself avoid sending your Grace the earliest account of the extraordinary proceedings of the common council this day.

I never doubted Mr. Pitt's resentment would be turned upon me in the manner it now appears to be. They may hope by this to be less offensive to the King, by not directing it directly against his Majesty's minister and favourite; they may also think that this may be the best way in reality to hurt him. Whatever their views may be, it gives me not the least uneasiness, as I flatter myself, with your Grace's kind support and assistance, and

that of my other friends; and for that purpose I hope all our friends will give their attendance the first day of the session. I took the liberty to tell the King that I had stood an inquiry when I was out of employment, and I did not doubt but I should be better able to do it, having the honour to be in his Majesty's service. The King seemed astonished at the proceeding, and was very gracious to me upon it. I had also some discourse with my Lord Bute, who expressed great resentment; and made very just observations of the tendency of these proceedings in the common council, and how like they were to those which preceded the year 1641.* These observations were very just, and the moral upon them ought to be to discourage them effectually, before it may be too late. I hope we shall have the honour to see your Grace soon in town. 1761.

I am, &c.

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

* "The city have voted an address of thanks to Mr. Pitt, and given instructions to their members; the chief articles of which are, to promote an inquiry into the disposal of the money that has been granted, and to consent to no peace, unless we are to retain all, or very near all, our conquests. Thus the city of London usurp the right of making peace and war."— *Walpole's Letters*, vol. iv. p. 89.

1761.

HON. GENERAL WALDEGRAVE* TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

The Camp, October 28. 1761.

My Lord,

I am infinitely obliged to your Grace for the honour of your letter of the 8th. Mr. Pitt's resignation surprised us all here extremely; and though nine out of ten are glad of it (as they think it more likely to bring peace), yet there are a few who are much dejected. I think the campaign draws near a conclusion; and considering the inequality of numbers, Prince Ferdinand has made a most glorious one; for in my opinion no man of common sense who was thoroughly informed had a right to expect our affairs to turn out so well. I could say a great deal on this subject, but as this letter goes by the post, it would not be prudent.

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Jemmy's, Friday, four o'clock, October 30. 1761.

As I mentioned to your Grace that my Lord Bute had said nothing of the present vacancies, or

* Only brother of James Earl Waldegrave, to whose title and estates he succeeded in 1763. He was inferior to his brother in talents and dignity of character, and only known as an intrepid and intelligent officer. His marriage with Lady Elizabeth Gower (sister of the Duchess of Bedford), a woman of consider-

of your Grace's letter to him, I would not delay one moment acquainting you that, when I came to Court, his Lordship told me that Mr. Grenville had, after some difficulty, determined to undertake the conduct of the House of Commons; but he hoped he should be supported, and attention would be paid to some of his recommendations, to enable him to go through what he had undertaken; that to give him some *eclat* at first, he wished that his brother-in-law, my Lord Thomond, might be made cofferer, and Sir George Savile be made comptroller of the household.* My Lord Bute then told me that he had received a letter from your Grace in favour of Mr. Rigby; that he had wished to obey your Grace's commands by some removal upon this occasion for that purpose. He had tried, but found it impossible at present. I mightily pressed the doing it now, if possible, and said every thing upon the occasion which your Grace's goodness for Mr. Rigby would wish me to say, or my own most sincere desire to serve him could suggest. To be sure there can be no objection to my Lord Thomond or Sir George Savile. Lord Bute puts it entirely 1761.

able ambition, had attached him to the Bedford interest, and subsequently led to his obtaining the post of Master of the Horse to the Queen, a promotion which much injured his estate. He died in 1789.

* Such an office could not have suited Sir George Savile, and he did not condescend to accept it. No man could have been more out of his place in the retinue of a court.—See an account of Sir George Savile in *Walpole's George III.*, vol. i. p. 351.

1761. upon the necessity to give some mark of *éclat* at present to Mr. Grenville. Many pardons for troubling your Grace with two letters in one day; but I will never omit any opportunity of showing my attention to your Grace in your commands.

I am, &c.

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Mistley, December 31. 1761.

I return your Grace many thanks for the favour of your letters and the history of your council. Alas! I foresee it is reverting very fast into the situation of that in the year 1756, which made Mr. Pitt's spirit and activity necessary to be called to it, with one additional provoking circumstance attending it, which is, that they have now you amongst them to give them a little spirited advice, which though they approve of, they have not resolution to execute. Can such want of firmness possibly carry us through a new war and extricate us out of this worn-out one in which we are at present engaged? Pray don't let my Lady Duchess say that I wish it because I prophesy it; but if your councils go on for three months without daring to be resolute, for fear of being offensive to Mr.

Pitt, his restoration is certain. And M. Fuentes* may be impertinent in telling the world that Mr. Pitt governs behind the curtain; but it is a worse kind of dominion even than that which he will have over us, if the measures of administration are to be put in one scale and their dread of Mr. Pitt in the other. We know how very heavy some people's fears weigh with them. 1761.

Your advice about Belleisle is undoubtedly right: I should have thought it so, even if Spain had maintained her neutrality, as well because I never thought so highly of its importance as your Grace has done, but also on account of the enormous expense attending it. It has cost us, first and last, near a million: I can prove it, and shall, one day or other, much the more readily after the sensible advice your Grace has given, unless when we converse together you may judge it more prudent, from that very circumstance, that I should hold my tongue about it.

You tell me that many now conceive the German war cannot be carried on any longer: I should wish those many were of the ministry, if I could flatter myself we were nearer an end to that most destructive measure upon that account. But if they will only agree that it is destruction, and still pur-

* The Count de Fuentes, Spanish ambassador in England, and afterwards in France. Though he passed for a dull man in London society, he effectually duped the government as to the designs of his court; and maintained through life considerable political influence, in his own country.

1761. sue it, they are more culpable than the others who fancy any benefit is to be derived from it. For God's sake, where is the noble boasted spirit of Alonzo? Where the firmness of his new colleague? Do the *men of words*, as you well call them, again dictate to you all? Who sent the spirited order to Lord Bristol to demand his categorical answer at Madrid? That was a measure, whether prudent or not, that denoted spirit, and whoever he was he should have foreseen that he was drawing business enough upon his hands, and such as would require resolution to execute; or did he only advise it lest Mr. Pitt should have been angry if they had not done so? He will be angry if they only leave nothing undone. Both he and the nation will expect that something is done besides threatening vengeance to Spain by the mouths of our heralds; and that is impossible to be done, if the present plan of the war is continued. We should have been determined therefore to put an end to the German war when we were plunging into a Spanish one; nor should an hour be lost in bringing back our army, unless we determine to do it at last at a season of the year when it will be impossible to execute it.

I am, &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

1762.

MARQUIS OF TAVISTOCK TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Florence, January 8. 1762.

My dearest Father,

It is to you I must address this letter, though I hope the precaution I am taking will prove unnecessary. Though we have as yet heard nothing from England, yet it is here beyond a doubt that Spain has begun hostilities. It seems probable (to me at least) that they may talk at least of a descent on our coasts. If this should be reported with any colour of truth, I hope you will consider how much my honour will suffer by my loitering in Italy when we are threatened with an immediate invasion. I own I have no real apprehensions of its being attempted, but the world, who knows my infatuation to the army, will be surprised to find me absent when there is an appearance, however small, of my being wanted. Besides my honour was engaged to the whole regiment when I left them, to return upon any thing extraordinary happening. I beg pardon, my best father, for saying so much on this subject, and beg you will not think I could entertain a doubt of your goodness to me in this any more than in every other particular. No, I assure you I am convinced my honour is as safe in your hands as in my own, and after you have received this letter I shall no longer have an uneasiness of being improperly absent: I neither

1762. desire to return upon really idle rumours or if it is not immediately talked of.

I arrived here from Bologna on the 6th, and hope you have received my letter from thence to my sister and to my mother from Genoa. I am vastly sorry to hear of your being laid up with the gout; but I flatter myself of your being quite recovered before I received the account of it, which was only at my arrival here.

Yours,
F. T.

THE EARL OF BUTE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

January 30. 1762.

My dear Lord,

I enclose Sir Joseph Yorke's answer for your Grace's consideration, and cannot help earnestly deprecating your intended motion *; but if it must be, as your Grace was so good as to put it off on my mentioning yesterday his Majesty's intention of ordering a meeting of the cabinet, I take the earliest opportunity of acquainting your Grace that the post not being arrived, nor any hopes of it at present, his Majesty thinks it necessary to postpone this, till we shall have further accounts of the great event that has happened; and as this may be very uncertain I think myself bound in honour to mention it to your Grace, that I may not appear to

* To recall the British troops from Germany.

have by design prevented any measure you shall judge expedient. 1762.

I am, &c.

BUTE.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE EARL OF BUTE.

Bedford House, January 31. 1762.

My dear Lord,

Your Lordship's letter with the packet came to my hands just as I was going out to dinner, and as I did not return home till late last night, I had no opportunity of reading it till this morning. I am much obliged to your Lordship for the notice you have been pleased to give me, that the council is postponed *sine die*, and as I do not see either in Sir Joseph Yorke's despatch any thing to alter my opinion with regard to the measure I have so much at heart, nor in the Czarina's death any alteration as to the present German war, I intend on Wednesday next, at the first day of your meeting, to acquaint the House that I desire the lords may be summoned either for the Thursday or Friday following, to take his Majesty's speech into consideration.*

* The duke softened his motion into a resolution that the war was attended with an enormous expense (*Parliamentary History*, vol. xv. p. 1218.) Lord Bute thereupon moved the previous question, which, after a spirited debate, was carried by a majority of 105 to 16. Considering that the Duke held the Privy Seal, and was an active member of the cabinet, it seems strange that his resignation did not immediately follow such a

1762.

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

St. James's, April 12. 1762.

My dear Lord,

I came to town this day, at my Lord Bute's request, to talk over some letters from Russia; the peace advances fast with the King of Prussia. The Emperor of Russia has such a passion for the King of Prussia, that his Imperial Majesty is extremely angry with us, in having sounded the Court of Vienna about peace; but that affair had been very falsely represented, and my Lord Bute, I hope, will have set it right.* His Lordship is very fearful that the Czar means to begin a new war with Denmark, and that he will be encouraged and supported in it by Prussia. For God's sake don't let us lose Russia the moment we have got them; that is a power as useful to this country as any. I see things both at home and abroad, in the most disagreeable light; I shall always hope, from your Grace's goodness and partiality to me, to have the counte-

contest with his colleagues.' His relations towards them were indeed, in some degree, altered; for in a letter of the Duke of Newcastle to the Duke of Devonshire, of March 21., the former says of the Duke, "He ought to be consulted, or not to be in employment. Your Grace knows it is not my fault. I wish you would send me any particulars about him. If he comes to me, which I hardly think he will, I shall be exceedingly embarrassed what to say."—*Devonshire MSS.*

* See Lord Bute's letter to Mr. Mitchell, Adolphus, vol. i. p. 580. Appendix; Lord Mahon's History, vol. iv. p. 380.; Walpole's George III., vol. i. p. 157. Lord Bute's explanation did not realise the Duke of Newcastle's hopes. The government was seriously lowered, by this transaction, in the estimation of foreign powers.

nance of your friendship, approbation, and support. 1762.
I acquainted the King and my Lord Bute with your Grace's desire to receive the King's pleasure with regard to the present vacancy at Westminster. I mentioned Mr. Sandys to both. My Lord Bute extremely approved it, and the King seemed to have no objection, but thinks it may be best to wait a few days. Your Grace shall have from Choumans Lord Egremont's letter to the Duke of Choiseul, and a minute about Portugal. I shall return to Claremont the moment I have dined. I was rejoiced to hear from Johnny Waldegrave that your Grace was much better. I hope by my return to town, which I propose should be on Monday next, to find your Grace in perfect good health, and that every thing may attend your Grace that is agreeable to you, for nobody can be more sincerely

Yours, &c.,

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

THE EARL OF BUTE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, May 1. 1762.

My dear Lord,

I can't resist the opportunity of Lady Bute's going to Bath, to acquaint your Grace with some alterations that have happened in the decision of the Council you wot of; when we met again to hear Lord Egremont's despatch read over, I ven-

1762. tured to fling out the following opinion; that, on weighing attentively the offer we had made of restoring Martinique on the French ceding Guadaloupe or Louisiana, I frankly owned I saw no probability of peace; they certainly would not accept these terms, and if so, war must be continued; and I find myself reduced to the painful necessity of declaring for a measure I knew very opposite to ideas of lords for whom I had a great regard; that to prevent this, I should propose to the French an offer that they ought to accept, and that we ought not to depart from; viz. the restoring to them both Martinique and Guadaloupe, with Marygalante, we retaining the neutral islands and the Grenada, and that to prevent all further disputes, the Mississippi should be the boundary between the two nations; in yielding to this the French in reality part with nothing they had a legal claim to, and so secure in perpetuity our northern conquests from all future chicane. The Dukes of Newcastle and Devonshire came heartily into my proposal, and yesterday it was agreed to by the whole Cabinet, and goes on Monday. I own, my dear Lord, I shall not be ashamed of this peace, and I hope the Duke of Bedford will not disapprove the mode it is now put in; we had afterwards some talking on the Prussian subsidy, from which the Dukes of Newcastle and Devonshire, and Lord Hardwicke, would not depart; the other Lords (Lord Mansfield excepted, who was silent) thought it highly improper to continue it, under the load of evidence we have, of the most

determined enmity of that Prince, and under our own most necessitous circumstances: I should, therefore, suppose the King will not consent to it, and the vote of credit will be asked for without it on Wednesday. I hope your Grace has found benefit from the waters, and that we shall soon see you again in perfect health. 1762.

I am, &c.
BUTE.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE EARL OF BUTE.

Bath, May 4. 1762.

My Lord,

Upon my return this morning, I found myself honoured with your Lordship's letter, which Lady Bute was so good as to send me, and I take the opportunity of the return of the messenger of the Privy Seal, to return your Lordship my thanks for it. I shall now take the liberty to state freely to your Lordship my thoughts on the plan of peace now sent to France. I think the Ministry there would not have agreed entirely to the terms which were settled at our first meeting at my Lord President's; but my doubt is, whether with such a chicaning power as France, we ought at the first opening to go to the utmost extent of the cessions we intended to make, least France, by our going such lengths at first, should think us to be so

1762. driven to the wall, as to buy peace at any terms, by being under a total inability of carrying on the war; which I don't hold to be absolutely the case, provided we confine ourselves entirely to our own war, and keep out as much as possible of continental wars in Europe. However, upon the whole, I shall be glad of the peace your Lordship has chalked out, as I see the continuance of the war (though possible to be carried on in the confined manner I have mentioned), yet on many concurrent circumstances likely to prove fatal to the nation, and consequently so to the honour and happiness of the King my master. I fully explained myself the other day against the Prussian subsidy, and therefore shall trouble your Lordship no further about it, but to express my hearty wish that His Majesty may continue firm in his present sentiments as to that measure. Your Lordship is very obliging to inquire after my health: I have but just begun the waters, which agree with me very well.

I am, &c.

B.

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Newcastle House, May 15. 1762.

I hope I shall have the pleasure of hearing that your Grace is returned to Woburn in perfect

good health, though I was sorry to hear that your Grace had not drank the waters for some time. 1762.

I have had so many proofs of your Grace's goodness to me, that I flatter myself you will excuse the liberty I now take in troubling you upon my own subject.

It has been the greatest misfortune to me, that I have been obliged to take a resolution relating to my own situation, without having had an opportunity of previously consulting your Grace, and taking your advice, before I had put it in execution. But as the circumstances admitted of no delay, and as I have endeavoured, in the step I have taken, to act agreeably to what your Grace was so good as to declare to me was the rule I should go by, when your Grace, from your goodness and partiality to me, engaged me to remain in the King's service, I hope I can have no doubt of your approbation. When I mentioned the difficulties of my undertaking such an employment at that time, unknown to, and unsupported by, either the King or his Minister, your Grace was pleased to say, that if, after trial, I found I had not that countenance, credit, and support, which my station and situation entitled me to, you would be far from advising or wishing that I should remain in employment; that case has now happened, and that has made my retreat unavoidable. Your Grace has seen the little credit which I have had either in business, or in any disposition of honours or employments, numbers of peers made without my

1762. knowing any thing of it until it was absolutely done; and except in the case of Mr. Probert's, which was only an exchange of employment with Mr. Sloper, I don't remember one single recommendation of mine, which has taken place since his Majesty's accession to the Crown; I mean as to civil employments, or indeed, I may add, as to military ones also. But that which is the immediate cause of my resignation, is some late transactions with my Board, and particularly with the Secretary Mr. Martin (unknown to me), which must expose me to them, make me appear insignificant there, and are a plain declaration of the little regard and confidence which his Majesty's ministers have in me. In this situation it is impossible for me to remain in the Treasury, with any honour or ease to myself, or any advantage to the public or my friends. I beg your Grace would not mention these particulars till I have the honour and pleasure to see you, and I will then explain them fully to you, and acquaint you with all that has passed upon this occasion. In the mean time, as I have felt the great advantage of your Grace's support whilst I was in the administration, I hope I shall have the comfort of your friendship and good opinion out of it. I flatter myself, that since your Grace has so remarkably honoured me with your friendship and favour, I have omitted no opportunity of showing the very grateful sense which I had of it; and I beg leave to assure your Grace, that in or out of employment, it shall ever be my study and my ambition to con-

vince your Grace of the very sincere regard, and, if I may add, affection, with which I shall always be, 1762.

&c. &c.

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

LE DUC DE CHOISEUL A M. LE BAILLI DE SOLAR.*

Versailles, May 13. 1762.

Notre confiance en vous, mon cher Ambassadeur, et en la probité de Mylord Egremont et Mylord Bute, est aussi entière qu'il est possible: nous désirons la paix de bonne foi, vous le savez; nous sommes touchés des bonnes procédés de l'Angleterre, fort éloignés de soupçonner le moindre artifice dans une conduite que nous admirons et que nous voulons imiter; mais je dois vous faire observer quelques préalables absolument essentiels à la conclusion de cette grande affaire, glorieuse pour la nation Britannique, et utile au genre humain; après quoi j'entrerai en matière par un mémoire sur les conditions qui nous regardent, et

* The Bailli de Solar was at this time the Sardinian ambassador at Paris. He lived on terms of the most confidential friendship with the Duc de Choiseul. They had been ambassadors together at Rome during some years, when their friendship commenced. The Bailli, in conjunction with the Count de Viry (the Sardinian ambassador at London) and Mr. Stewart Mackenzie, the brother of Lord Bute, conducted the early part of the negotiations.

Lord Chesterfield says, ("Letters," vol. ii. p. 475.) "that the first great outlines of the peace were arranged under the *sole* direction of Viry, for Lord Bute was wholly ignorant of negotiations and foreign affairs." Mr. Mackenzie had lately been minister at Turin.

1762. dont le précis est détaillé dans une lettre du Comte Egremont au Comte de Viry.*

La première observation, mon cher Ambassadeur, qui est la base de toutes les autres, est l'effroi où nous sommes par des nouvelles de Londres sur la stabilité du ministère Anglois: je vous parlerai très naturellement sur cet objet: le Comte de Choiseul et moi avons été autorisés de notre maître de traiter avec Mylord Egremont et Mylord Bute; nous n'ignorons pas que la paix peut se faire sans ces ministres, et que le roi d'Angleterre est bien le maître de choisir pour cet ouvrage des instrumens qui lui conviendroient le mieux; mais quant à moi,

* The Count de Viry was a noble Savoyard of high rank and large possessions. His father had in early life thrown him into a convent, where he had actually taken the vows; but on inheriting the titles and estates of his family, he was released from his obligations by the Pope, and entered eagerly into political life. His success was rapid and brilliant. He obtained great influence both over George III. and Lord Bute, not only by the part he took in promoting the peace, but by his address and agreeable manners; and after having obtained, through the King's personal interference, the reluctant permission of his court to keep his embassy as long as suited his views, he contrived on his return home to raise himself to the post of prime minister, which he held for some years. He seems to have been little respected in England; the Duke of Nivernois says that he had the reputation of being very insincere. An amusing account is given of him in "Memoirs of a Traveller now in Retirement," the author of which (Mr. Dutens) knew him intimately, having acted as private secretary to Mr. Mackenzie in these negotiations. It is to be regretted that this work was written by Mr. Dutens in his old age, and chiefly from recollections, as he was a man of talent and extensive information, as his edition of Leibnitz, and his "Origines des Découvertes des Modernes," &c., amply prove, and he is one of the few writers who could have given authentic information of Lord Bute's political history. It contains, however, some curious anecdotes of foreign statesmen not to be found elsewhere.

le roi m'a permis de vous dire, que si sa Majesté Britannique ne se servoit pas des deux Mylords avec lesquels nous avons entamé la négociation, sur la probité desquel nous comptons comme sur la nôtre, je me retirerai absolument de la négociation, et je désavouerai en entier tout ce que j'ai pu, ou pourrai vous écrire rélativement à la réconciliation des deux nations. Vous savez, mon cher Ambassadeur, qu'après ce qui est arrivé l'année passée avec Mr. Pitt, je suivois le sentiment de mon maître en pensant qu'il falloit continuer cette guerre aussi longtemps qu'elle pourroit aller; il est certain que nous avons des ressources; il est évident que la guerre nous convient mieux qu'une paix plâtrée, de peu de durée, ou bien une paix humiliante qui ne pourroit pas être solide dès qu'elle attaqueroit la considération de la couronne: nous avons été malheureux; mais à force de l'être l'on a la ressource, en contenant la machine, d'avoir à l'avenir les événemens pour soi: cette ressource est triste, mais elle peut être féconde, surtout quand elle est appuyée par le courage non-équivoque du ministère: nous vivions, et surtout moi, dans ce principe, lorsque notre négociation s'est entamée: vous vous rappellerez que d'abord je ne croyois pas qu'elle eût de succès; mais le ministère Anglois avec lequel nous traitons, les sentimens du roi d'Angleterre exprimés avec toute la noblesse possible, ont déterminée le cœur du roi comme il devoit l'être; nous nous sommes abandonnés à la négociation de la paix, et au devoir de la faire, 1762.

1762. plutôt par sentiment que par réflexion: il ne seroit pas possible que cette confiance subsistât lorsque l'estime, qui la fait naître, seroit détruite; quant à moi, j'aimerois mieux aller ramer aux galères que d'avoir rien de pacifique à démêler avec Mr. Pitt; et je crois que le roi, qui désire la paix, contiendroit encore quelque tems le goût personnel qu'il a d'être lié d'amitié avec le roi d'Angleterre, si ce Prince choisissoit d'autres organes pour expliquer ses intentions à la France: ne croyez pas au reste que ce que je vous mande soit en vue d'une jactance déplacée, et de marquer une indifférence ridicule pour la paix; je vous le répète, elle est nécessaire à la France, comme aux autres puissances belligérantes; le roi personellement a envie de la faire, et ses ministres la désirent autant que la nation; si l'on nous sauve l'honneur que nous ne pouvons pas altérer, et si nous traitons avec les mêmes ministres, je ne doute pas qu'elle ne soit faite: enfin je suis sûr qu'elle l'auroit été dans quinze jours l'année passée, si on avoit agi comme cette année. Je me suis étendu, mon cher Ambassadeur, sur l'article de la solidité du ministère Britannique pour que vous fassiez connoître à M. de Viry l'importance pour le bien, qu'elle soit établie irrévocablement, et que nous n'ayons pas à craindre des changemens à Londres, qui, à coup sûr, détruiront tout notre ouvrage. La seconde observation, que je dois vous présenter, regarde notre conduite vis-à-vis de l'Espagne. Je vais vous confier notre position: nous avons mandé à Madrid combien le roi étoit touché

des procédés du roi d'Angleterre, combien nous avions d'estime et de confiance dans son ministère, combien nous désirions, et il nous étoit utile que l'on parvint à la paix; nous avons ajouté que sa Majesté, à quelques petits changemens près, étoit déterminée à accepter les conditions offertes par l'Angleterre; et enfin après avoir pressé l'Espagne d'acquiescer à nos désirs, et de nous procurer le bien inestimable de la paix, nous lui avons cependant déclaré, que, d'après nos engagemens, nous ne le ferions pas sans son consentiment; mais que nous l'invitons par le retour du courier de nous dire positivement son intention, soit pour terminer une guerre, dont nous désirons la fin, soit pour la continuer; le roi n'étant pas dans l'intention d'amuser par une négociation feinte la cour d'Angleterre, et de payer la bonne foi du ministère Britannique par des lenteurs qui ne peuvent pas convenir aux trois couronnes. Il y a huit jours que le courier est parti; si l'Espagne veut continuer la guerre, nous chercherons encore des nouveaux moyens pour la déterminer à la paix; mais en attendant la décision de sa Majesté Catholique, qui nous intéresse tout autant que le ministère Anglois, nous avons cru, pour ne pas perdre du tems, devoir vous adresser le mémoire de préliminaires que nous serons en état de signer lorsque la cour de Madrid aura donné son consentiment à la paix; de sorte que ce qui nous regarde sera entendu et presque terminé dès que la négociation de l'Espagne commencera. Nous prenons ce parti 1762.

1762. pour montrer à l'Angleterre la vérité de nos intentions, et le regret que nous aurions si nous ne parvenions pas à retablir l'union entre les trois Puissances.

Je distingue dans le mémoire les objets par articles, afin de mettre de la précision dans les propositions; je joindrai les observations aux articles qui en demandent.

Nous avons communiqué la négociation à la cour de Vienne; nous ne savons pas sa réponse; mais je ne crois pas que cette partie souffre de grandes difficultés: au reste, j'ai été fort étonné de voir dans le dernier rapport de notre ambassadeur à la Haye les détails de notre négociation qui, par conséquent, est connue en Hollande: cette publicité est, on ne peut pas plus, nuisible, et nous jette dans des embarras; vous les connoissez, mon cher Ambassadeur. Je dois ajouter, que les alliés de l'Angleterre sont très éloignés de penser et d'agir aussi fidellement que cette couronne; ce qui nous fait prier de ne leur pas communiquer *in extenso* notre réponse: nous sommes sûr qu'ils ne voulent pas la paix, et qu'ils cherchent par une cabale à Londres à faire échouer les vues salutaires au ministère actuel. Le nouvel allié de Russie peut produire le bien d'amener la paix d'Allemagne: mais on est trop sage en Angleterre, à ce que nous pensons, pour s'engager précipitamment avec ce Prince: ce n'est pas à nous à donner des conseils politiques au ministère Britannique; mais c'est à moi à assurer les Mylords Egremont et Bute, que je leur dois

jusqu'à présent le plus sincère attachement, et que quelque chose qui arrive de la négociation je ne cesserai de le professer: vous connoissez celui, mon cher Ambassadeur, que je vous ai voué pour ma vie, et avec lequel j'ai l'honneur, &c. &c. 1762.

LE DUC DE CHOISEUL.*

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

St. James's, May 26. 1762.

I was in hopes to have had the honour of seeing your Grace in town, before I had actually put my resolution in execution, but as this day was fixed for it, I have resigned my employment. His Majesty was extremely gracious to me all this day and yesterday; I shall acquaint your Grace, when I have an opportunity, with all that has passed. I am this moment going to Claremont for the greatest part of the summer, where I hope to have the honour of seeing your Grace. I shall be in town to-morrow for the chapter and on the King's birth-day. I return your Grace my most sincere thanks for all your goodness to me; I hope to have the continuance of it, which I shall always endeavour to deserve.

I am, &c.

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

* This letter is curious as a specimen of the secret correspondence between the two courts on the treaty, and is a strong proof of the dread entertained of Mr. Pitt at Versailles.

1762.

EARL OF BUTE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

My dear Lord,

If it were not too inconvenient for your Grace to come to town on Thursday for the election of a master of the Charterhouse, I should be happy to see you ; and the more, that this occasion could breed no speculation, and that the expected despatch will in all probability be here by that time; Mr. Rigby would give your Grace the outline of our present situation; but I wish much to have your advice concerning some particulars; the meeting is to be at the President's at two, so that I can be at your Grace's orders any time Thursday morning from eight to two, if the journey to London suit your conveniency.

I am, &c. &c.

BUTE.

Monday Night,
(July 19. 1762.)

July 19*th*, 1762.—Minutes of conversation at their meeting:—

According to appointment I went to Lord Bute; his Lordship began with telling me, that he desired to talk with me more fully on the present state of our affairs than he had done with Mr. Rigby the last time he saw him, and which he had communicated to me by his desire. He said that M. Viry had informed him that he thought the peace was made, if we would agree to cede the island of St. Lucia to the French, without which cession they are determined to carry on the war;—that they yielded up

every other point, viz. the East Indies, and the whole trade of the Ganges, their demand of a free liberty of trading in the river Senegal, the Grenades and the three other neutral islands, the Mobile, and the limits of Canada, so as to leave that river the boundary betwixt the two nations, except in that part which is specified in a map enclosed, and which will leave New Orleans in the possession of the French, as we demand them; — the distance their fishermen in the Gulf of St. Lawrence are to keep from our coasts, to be settled by the ambassadors who are to be sent from each court to the other — that they will be satisfied with the *abri* offered by us, and demand no other right of *secherie* than was granted by the treaty of Utrecht — that they will consent to a total evacuation of British and French troops out of Germany, but that the towns of the King of Prussia, where justice is administered in the name of the Empress Queen, must be ceded to her troops; that Dunkirk should be put on the foot of the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, except the *cunette*, which shall be proved to the English to be only calculated for the health of the place. 1762.

That she will bring Spain to evacuate Portugal; and that if England chooses it, the peace with Spain may be concluded by the English Ambassador at Paris, with M. Grimaldi, or otherwise by sending a minister to Madrid. That the three points with Spain may be settled in this manner: first, the prizes taken before the war to be finally adjusted by the British courts; secondly, their claim to a fishery on the banks of Newfoundland to be left on the foot of the treaty of Utrecht, where each reserves their former rights; thirdly, the forts on the Spanish main to be destroyed, on their giving sufficient security for our enjoyment of the logwood trade. As to this third, I replied, this required a much fuller explanation than such vague words conveyed, as I had my doubts of any sufficient security for that trade, without the old establishments in Yutucan were kept up, and that

1762. the English never allowed the Mosquitos or other *Indios bravos* to be under the Spanish dominion.

That the French desire to have the preliminaries signed immediately at London and Paris, by ambassadors to be sent reciprocally, who are to assume their characters immediately after the signature. That the Duc and Comte de Choiseul had each applied to come to England, but that the King would not spare them, but would send a man of the first quality. That the King hoped I should be able to set out by the middle of next month, and that my family and equipages might follow me. Lord Bute seemed very desirous to conclude the peace on these terms, and waits with impatience for the return of the messenger. He says that should the war continue, though not in its totality, it must cost at least nine millions yearly. He says Lord Mansfield is against ceding St. Lucia, and is gone a long circuit to be out of the way.

I have talked with G. Grenville since, who don't seem quite so peaceably intentioned as Lord Bute.

The Earl of Bute told me, upon my mentioning to him that I hoped it would not be expected that my stay at Paris would be above six months or at the most a year, that it might be within the year if I pleased; and upon my farther asking him, who the King intended to send as Secretary of the Embassy, who I supposed would be left to relieve me at the expiration of my term, he replied that the choice of Secretary to the Embassy would be left to me, and that the King, after my return, meant to leave an ambassador there.

I find Lord Bute thinks there is a disposition in the Queen of Hungary to come to terms with the King of Prussia; and he insists that the King has fulfilled all his engagements with the King of Prussia, who can have no reason to be dissatisfied at Wesel, Gueldres, &c. being ceded, on the French quitting them, to the troops of the Queen of Hungary. The King of Prussia made his

peace with Russia and Sweden, without any participation to us. 1762.

EARL OF EGREMONT TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Piccadilly, July 31. 1762.

My dear Lord,

I have the honour to send your Grace the drafts which I prepared in consequence of the last meeting, and laid before the Lords of the Council yesterday, where they were approved of, and ordered by the King to be delivered to Viry to despatch his courier with them to France. As time has pressed so much, the papers I now send your Grace are the only copies I have of this despatch, wherefore I beg you will be so good as to return them when you have perused them, and I shall be very happy if they are according to your ideas. By what I have heard from Viry, and by what I have seen in some letters from Paris since I had the honour of seeing your Grace, I make little doubt that the French are determined to make peace, and that you will soon be called upon to set out: in that confidence I have set about copying all that has passed between us and the French from the beginning for your use. I think the Russian revolution will make little difference; and if the French could hope advantage from that change, it is more than balanced by the situation of their troops in Germany, which, by all accounts, is bad beyond expression.

I have, &c.

EGREMONT.

1762.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

Woburn Abbey, August 1. 1762.

My dear Lord,

I am much obliged to you for the sight of the despatches you have sent me; and as the contents of them have been approved by the King and the Lords, to whom they have been referred, I shall make no objection to them. But I hope when my instructions are to be finally settled, there will be a very specific declaration of his Majesty's intentions, what security I am to expect from the French Court of their not taking part with the Court of Spain, should it be impossible for me to bring M. Grimaldi to sign at the same time the preliminaries with France shall be concluded. It will likewise, I think, be necessary for me to be informed how far I am to avail myself of any good success that we may probably soon have an account of from the Havannah. I shall make it my business, before I come to town, to state some queries for his Majesty's direction to regulate my conduct in this arduous affair. There is a difficulty occurs to me, as to the epochs for the cessation of arms, the restitution, &c. of conquests, being to be settled by the respective plenipotentiaries, as it must necessarily, if not left to be finally settled by one of them, occasion much loss of time in the despatching and re-despatching of couriers.

I have nothing further to trouble your Lordship with at present, but to assure you I will be ready

to execute his Majesty's commands at a moment's warning, to the best of my abilities. I must beg the favour of your Lordship to mention to the King, that in pursuance of the liberty his Majesty gave me, I do humbly recommend Mr. Aldworth * for Secretary to the Embassy. 1762.

I have, &c.

BEDFORD.

THE REV. JOHN JEFFREYS TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Berkhampstead, August 19. 1762.

My Lord,

I am honoured with the favour of your Grace's letter, and esteem myself happy in having it in my power to give your Grace any information relating to the Embassy to France.

I take the liberty to send you enclosed a list †

* He assumed the name of Neville some months afterwards. See infrà, p. 254.

† Secretary to the embassy.
Chaplain.
Private secretary.
Under secretary.
Two gentlemen of the embassy.
Master of the horse.
Two pages.
Maître d'hôtel, — an English butler.
Valet-de-chambre.
Valet-de-chambre baigneur.
Valet-de-chambre tapissier.
Eight livery footmen.
Frotteur.
Chef de cuisine.
One apprentice.
Rotisseur.
Patissier.
Two marmitons.
Officier.
One aide.
Two coachmen.
Two helpers.
Two postilions.
One groom.
Two under grooms.
Two English maids to take care of the linen.
A coach and English landau.
A chariot.
One post-chaise.
Two sets of horses.

1762. (which I have made out to the best of my recollection) of the establishment of the late Lord Albemarle's household upon his going to Paris, which after the first year was in many particulars lessened.

I have also mentioned the particulars of the salary as ambassador, which perhaps your Grace may be glad to know. Monsieur de Mirepoix and Lord Albemarle exchanged houses, which made a considerable difference to his Lordship in the expense of the Embassy. Your Grace will probably write to your banker at Paris to get you a proper hotel; and unless you propose staying some time there, I hope you won't think me impertinent, if I beg leave to mention, that an upholsterer will furnish your house in any manner you choose by the year.

Lord Albemarle sent over Captain Mackay, his master of the horse, some months before his Lordship went, to get his equipages, liveries, and other things ready against his coming — the equipages and liveries were made at Paris. If your Grace should be at Woburn soon, and think I can give you any further information about the Embassy, I shall with the greatest pleasure pay my duty to you there, or will come to London if your Grace desires

Six saddle horses.

500*l.* allowed for travelling charges.
1500*l.* for equipage money.
Plate.
Chapel furniture.
5200*l.* per annum clear of all fees of office.
400*l.* per quarter for extraordinaries, and an allowance for journeys to Compiegne or Fontainbleau.

it. Lord Albemarle carried to Paris very few English servants. 1762.

I have, &c.

JOHN JEFFREYS.*

DUKE OF CUMBERLAND TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Windsor Great Lodge, August 20. 1762.

My Lord,

I could not lose a moment in returning you my sincere thanks for the kind and obliging manner with which you acquaint me with the Duke of Marlborough's proposals to Lady Caroline, and of your acceptance of them.

Indeed you did me justice, as no one takes a sincerer share in all that relates to you yourself, or your family. Nor am I at all surprised at the joy both the Duchess and you feel on this occasion, to have so amiable and so good a daughter married not only to the richest man of quality, but to a man whose character promises her the happiness she so much deserves.

I must trouble you to make the Duchess my compliments on this agreeable occasion; she knows my constant partiality to Lady Caroline too well

* Mr. Jeffreys had been Lord Albemarle's chaplain at Paris. He was rector of Berkhampstead, and afterwards obtained one of the lucrative prebends of St. Paul's. He was a collateral descendant of Lord Chancellor Jeffreys, and as amiable and virtuous as his ancestor was the reverse. One of the most pleasing of Hogarth's family portraits is a group representing this gentleman and his wife and children.

1762. not to be convinced of the sincerity of them; and when it may be proper, I hope Lady Caroline will accept them also; wishing her all the happiness she is entitled to.

I remain, &c.

WILLIAM.

August 23*d*, 1762. — Minute of what passed this day betwixt the Earl of Bute and me: —

First, upon my mentioning a report I had heard that some of the ministers had said, that in case the Havannah should be known to be taken before my setting out for France, the peace with Spain could not be concluded without some compensation to be given for it, he told me there had been such an opinion among some of the King's servants, particularly Lord Egremont and Mr. Grenville; and that the Duke of Choiseul had been more than once informed, that if any great event should happen before the treaty with Spain was begun, that farther demands must be made. Upon my asking what those demands could be, he said, that as the cessions were to be entirely made by us for the encroachments on the Spanish territory, it was but reasonable that they should desist from those demands, and leave the places fortified and settled by us, in the same situation they were before the war. I told him I feared it would be difficult to bring Spain to consent to this, and suggested the demolishing only the new encroachments made by us since the commencement of the French war, which he seemed to approve of. He wished they could be brought to yield St. Augustine — he said some wished for Porto Rico.

Secondly, I mentioned to him that the words *Acadia*, or *Nova Scotia*, were omitted in the second article of the French *projet de preliminaires*. He agreed with me they ought to be inserted.

Thirdly, in the fourth article, *inspection raisonnable* * is mentioned: I desired to know what inspection would be deemed sufficient? His answer was, a liberty to send occasionally a person (even with a French passport) to view what was doing there. 1762.

Fourthly, in the sixth article the source of the Mississippi is mentioned: is it known? is it certain New Orleans is upon the very island made by our boundary and the main river Mississippi? The answer, the source must be taken from the maps, however imperfect they are. He says he believes New Orleans is on the very island, but should that be doubtful, "island or islands" may be inserted.

Fifthly, in the twelfth article alternatives are proposed, without which they refuse to evacuate Wezel and Gueldres: it is understood by the King's servants that they be botl evacuated to the first comer, the French giving notice of it to the Queen of Hungary, as we to the King of Prussia.

Sixthly, the fifteenth article relates to the East Indies: should any mention be made of Bencoolen, or other places taken from us by the French? Lord Bute said he was sure they were retaken, and in our possession.

Seventhly, in the eighteenth article the *comptoirs* on the Ganges are again insisted upon to be restored. This cannot be agreed to; but in the definitive treaty some arrangements may be made for their trade up that river. In fixing the cessation of hostilities at sea to twelve weeks to all places beyond Cape St. Vincent to the equinoctial line, is it to be expected the Spaniards can agree to this? the Straits of Gibraltar and Cadiz being without the limits of six weeks. I suggested that Cape Spartel in Africa, substituted in lieu of St. Vincent, would obviate this.†

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* Of the works of Dunkirk. Their interest has long ceased, but they seem to have been as great an object of alarm to England in the time of Lord Bute as in that of Lord Clarendon.

† The Duke on the 31st pre-

1762. *Sept. 4th,* 1762. — Hints mentioned to me by Lord Mansfield: —

As to the war existing between the Empire, the Electorate of Hanover, Cassell, &c., I told him I had no instructions concerning this any farther than their territories were to be evacuated of troops in the pay of France.

As to the prizes, it is in my instructions to admit no article; there can be no appeal from the court of Admiralty, as, by the King's declaration to that court, war did then actually exist, a war, in fact, allowed by the law of nations, without any declaration of war.

Pactum familiæ. By the treaty of Utrecht, France could not take any advantages from Spain in the West Indies greater than granted to other powers. Great caution must be taken in wording the article by which the pactum familiæ shall be defeated, as for instance, that any agreement made during the war, contrary thereto, shall be null and void.

Great caution in wording the article about the logwood. Establishments must be kept though not fortified.

On the 6th of September the Duke of Bedford sailed from Dover. He did not reach Paris until the 12th, having, by a singular inconsistency on the part of the French government, been detained on the road by the want of post-horses, as much as by

pared a note of the points discussed with Lord Bute at this conference, in order that they might be submitted to the King, and he subsequently received his Majesty's decision upon them, coinciding precisely with the opinion expressed by Lord Bute, only with the additional instruction, as to the fourth point, that should the French refuse the navigation through the sea to the Mississippi "country," it should be insisted on, and that in case of the capture of the Havannah, he was to receive further instructions.—(*The Queries, and the King's reply to each, are in The Bedford MSS.*)

the honours paid to him in the towns where troops happened to be quartered.* He saw the Comte de Choiseul immediately on his arrival, and the Duc de Choiseul in the course of the evening. 1762.

The Duc de Nivernois arrived in England a few days after the Duke of Bedford had quitted it, and on the 13th had his first interview with Lord Egremont.†

The reception which awaited the Duke from all the French ministers was most friendly. They gave him the strongest assurance of their desire to bring the negotiations to a favourable issue, and, what was more important, he says, "It was con

* Walpole says that the most distinguished and unusual honours were lavished on the Duke, and the Mayor of Calais, thinking him descended from John, Duke of Bedford (brother of Henry V.), complimented his Grace on seeing him arrive with as salutary and pacific, as his great ancestor had formerly landed there with hostile intentions.— *Walpole's Memoirs of George III.*, vol. i. p. 191.

† The Duc de Nivernois had previously been employed in negotiations at Rome and Berlin. On neither of these occasions had he shown any want of talent or address, and he was amiable as well as accomplished. In elevation of character he, perhaps, was not superior to the majority of the nobles of the court of Louis XV., and his effeminate appearance, not less than some frivolous pursuits, have been severely noticed by cotemporary writers, especially those whose resentment he had incurred by his injudicious patronage of authors of very inferior merit. Madame Geoffrin described him harshly as "Guerrier manqué, politique manqué, enfin manqué partout." But this is merely the opinion of the head of a rival coterie. His letters during his embassy in England contain many interesting particulars of the state of parties, and are written in a liberal and enlightened spirit. In this species of composition he was far better qualified to shine than as a poet or historian. In his old age he was called into the council at the recommendation of Vergennes, the ablest minister of Louis XVI. He survived the worst storms of the Revolution, and died very old in 1798. See more of him in Walpole's Memoirs of George III., vol. i. p. 193.

1762. firmed to me from all parts, that the King, the public, and not only the civil and commercial, but even the military, heartily wish to see the termination of the war. The state of their commerce, and the scarcity of gold coin even in their capital, evince the necessity they have of peace, and the ministers themselves own, that the German war and foreign subsidies, of which they seem heartily tired, drain them of all their gold." *

On the 14th the Duke went to the Count de Choiseul's house, and in a conversation of above four hours went through with him nearly all the preliminaries. The discussion was chiefly confined to the points in which France was interested apart from Spain, and various objections were raised by the Count, which the Duke combated in detail, and, as he believed, successfully. This was preparatory to the more decisive interview which he was to have with the Duc de Choiseul, who had reserved the nicest and most delicate points of the negotiation to be settled by the Duke and himself. The following able despatch shows what passed between them, and the serious difficulties with which the Duke had to contend on that occasion.

* Letter to Lord Egremont, 12th September, Bedford MSS.

1762.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO LORD EGREMONT.

Paris, September 19. 1762.

My Lord,

After the long despatch of the 15th instant, which your Lordship will receive by the same messenger that brings you this, you will doubtless be surprised at the receipt of another of no less a volume; but as I am to give you a detail of above a nine hours' conversation on the Thursday, and of all that passed in the two following days, the fullest of business I ever passed in my life, or I hope ever shall again, I will, without further preface, enter upon the matter, assuring you that I will shorten the work as much as I can, consistent with the perspicuity I am obliged to observe, to lay before his Majesty a true state of the very important business with which I am entrusted.

I went on Thursday, according to appointment, to the Duke de Choiseul, whom I found alone, and immediately entered upon the Spanish business, the Count not being able to come. I began first on the affairs of Portugal, which the Duke owned to me he thought his Majesty had a right to intermeddle in, and assured me that his Most Christian Majesty would be able to remove all difficulties on that head, provided we were ready to give satisfaction to Spain on the other points. This at first had an agreeable aspect, as I knew but of three other points about which Spain had ever made complaint, and as I knew the King was determined to give

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1762. them satisfaction on the only material one, I judged the two others would be adjusted without difficulty. But this pleasing prospect soon vanished, when I found they had yet not ventured to own to the Marquis de Grimaldi all that had passed betwixt our two Courts in relation to the Mobile, the boundary betwixt Canada and Louisiana, and the navigation down the Mississippi to the sea. He even begged of me not to mention a word of this to M. Grimaldi till they had again talked to him about it; and he expressed the difficulties he foresaw which M. Grimaldi (who doubtless is very ill-intentioned) would raise on the part of his Court, who dreaded to see the English in the Gulf of Mexico. This necessarily brought on the point of the navigation, which I insisted upon should be granted down the Mississippi itself to the sea, which I see they will make no difficulty of ceding to us; the navigation through the lakes being equally obnoxious as the other to the Court of Spain. I shall, before I finish this letter, explain to your Lordship, at its proper period, how they mean to effect it. I told him I thought it needless to enter into further particulars about the Spanish affairs till this point was settled; and till I could see M. Grimaldi, who alone could confirm to me the necessary security about Portugal, as well in Europe as the West Indies, which I was absolutely instructed to declare the *sine quâ non* of my farther proceeding in the negotiation. He desired that I would postpone these two points till after dinner, when M. Grimaldi would give me

the meeting at his house, and that in the meantime we might proceed to the other particulars. This I consented to, with its being understood that nothing I agreed to should be binding, unless I had full satisfaction in the former points. 1762.

We then began on the affair of the prizes alleged by Spain to be illegally made in time of peace. This was adjusted according to the article I here enclose, *marked* A, after my showing that the method observed in England was conformable to the law of nations, and to treaties, and he appeared perfectly satisfied with it. The evacuations of the settlements on the Spanish territory came next in question, and the security to be given by the Court of Madrid, in compensation for these cessions, for the entire liberty to the British subjects to cut, load, and transport logwood at and from the places where it had been usually done. In this point likewise I think the Duc de Choiseul acted, after some little dispute had upon it, with great frankness, and a real desire of conciliation betwixt us and Spain. He seemed to know very little of the intentions of Spain about their claim of a right to fish on the banks of Newfoundland, except that they were much out of humour about it, and that if they had it they would make little or no use of it. He seemed very uneasy about that part of your Lordship's letter where compensations were talked of for *conquêtes faites ou à faire*. He said Spain, he feared, notwithstanding all the influence they had over her, would never admit of this, though we

1762. should have actually taken the Havannah, and that it would necessarily blast all hopes of their evacuating what they had gained in Portugal, and of their giving up the advantages they hoped to reap by the conquest of that whole kingdom, or at least of a considerable part of it. Upon my reproaching him with the injustice of the war they had begun jointly with Spain against that unhappy kingdom, he replied, that the King of Prussia by his invasion of Saxony had taught them the way, and that England in some degree had followed that track, in beginning the war against France by taking her ships before any declaration.

As I was unwilling to irritate, when my business here was to reconcile, I pushed this matter no farther, but desired to know of him how far France could answer for Spain, provided we gave her what could be reasonably expected from us in the three points which had been the cause of the rupture. He told me that the King of Spain had assured his cousin, the King of France, that, as he had entered into the war merely on his account, he was ready to make his peace with England whenever France should desire it, and that he had given *carte blanche* to his Most Christian Majesty, to order Grimaldi to sign whenever he should be pleased to give him directions in points that related jointly to both crowns, but he added, that he believed the Spanish ambassador was so ill-intentioned to the peace, that he feared it might be frustrated through his means. Upon the whole, if I can judge at all by the beha-

viour and language of the Duc de Choiseul, by the little I have as yet seen of the women whom he converses with, particularly his sister the Duchess of Gramont, by Madame Pompadour, with whom I have more than once conversed, and by the accounts of the Sardinian ambassador, who is perfectly well acquainted with this Court, I can venture to assure your Lordship that the Duc de Choiseul most heartily wishes the conclusion of the peace, which, indeed, is most material to him in every point of view. 1762.

Having now informed your Lordship of every thing material which I can recollect during this long conversation *tête-à-tête* with this minister, I must now relate the particulars of what passed, after an interval of about two hours, between the two French ministers, M. Grimaldi, and myself. Though I had been already apprised of the character of the Spanish ambassador, and of his ill intentions towards the great work now in hand, yet I did not expect to find it so strongly marked at the very first meeting we ever had upon business; for though that minister was very lavish in professions of the desire of his Court to a thorough reconciliation with England, and of his zeal to contribute, to the utmost of his abilities, to carry these pacific intentions of his Court into execution; yet I found by the difficulties he started upon every article, even the most trifling one, that of the prizes, which he disputed with me to the utmost, that all his professions of good intentions towards a reconciliation betwixt our two Courts could not be in any degree relied

1762. on. And though I did not specifically enter at that time into the affairs of Portugal, any farther than by assuring him that a thorough satisfaction with regard to that kingdom was a *sine quâ non* of my proceeding in the negotiation with him, the Duc de Choiseul having undertaken that the King his master should bring him to my terms on that head, yet I found that in the affair of the logwood, and the evacuation of the establishments on the Spanish territory, where undoubtedly his Majesty has shown, for the sake of peace, the greatest attention to the Court of Spain, he was, after an altercation of above an hour, in which I was supported against him by the French ministers, with difficulty brought to acquiesce to the article which I herein enclose, marked B; but at the same time he insisted that I should send to your Lordship the paper marked C, which he said had been sent him from his Court in the very shape it now appears, which he protests he believes will be rather accepted by you in England than that I have drawn up. With regard to the article of the claim of the Biscayans and Guipuscoans to fish on the banks of Newfoundland, he will by no means hear of any proposal that does not absolutely ascertain this right to them, and chooses to have no article at all about it. Either he, or his Court, have certainly lost their senses, if that can be judged of by the strange language he holds, that Spain, if refused the liberty of fishing or buying fish at Newfoundland, will prohibit the importation of Bacalao, and that the Pope has already, on the

application of the King of Spain, permitted the general use of flesh on fast-days. This is such stuff that I am almost ashamed to put it into a despatch, but your Lordship should be informed when passion and resentment make ministers and even nations act simply. This foolish discourse, however, brought us to a very material business,—that as, by the treaties of commerce and peace that were to be renewed, we were to be considered as *gens amicissima*, France must necessarily likewise be precluded from this beneficial trade of vending their fish in the Spanish ports: this he allowed, as the prohibition would be general; but that his Court never intended to renew all the treaties which were in force and vigor before the rupture, for a longer term than half, or at the most a whole year, by which time it would be insisted on that a new treaty of commerce should be made, the treaties of commerce which did subsist before the war being so contradictory to each other, and so burthensome to Spain, that M. Arriaga, their principal minister of the finances, had wrote to him that the King would no longer endure it. It is needless to trouble your Lordship with the puerilities and false reasoning made use of by M. Grimaldi on this occasion. It will suffice to inform you, that he concluded with saying that no force on earth should prevail with him to exceed his instructions in this point, and that he would rather lose his right arm than sign it. The Duc de Choiseul upon this took the pen, and said that he would endeavour to reconcile all differences on this point

1762.

1762. betwixt us, which he should effect by the article herein enclosed, marked D, which M. Grimaldi assented to, after long debate with the Duc de Choiseul; but which I declared I could not, it being directly contrary to my instructions, and a point of too great moment for me to accept it in any other way than *ad referendum*. However, I think myself obliged to inform your Lordship, that I fear Spain, without some change is agreed to be made hereafter in her commercial treaties with us, will not, by any instances from France, be induced to come into terms of accommodation. And, indeed, if any alteration is to be made, the article sketched out by the Duc de Choiseul seems fully calculated to render such alteration as little disagreeable to England as is possible. Though in the affair of Portugal I depended chiefly on the French ministers, who assured me that with regard to that, the Most Christian King would see satisfaction should be given to us on that most material point, yet I think myself obliged, as this naturally came sometimes in question during this meeting, to inform your Lordship of the reasonings made use of by M. Grimaldi. He said his Court desired to be judged on the same principles on which we judged ourselves; these were the very words he repeated several times; and that as we had given to understand to their Court, by making use of the words *conquêtes faites ou à faire*, that we were determined to ask a compensation for the Havannah, should it be taken, they had undoubtedly more than an equal right with us of

asking compensations for what they had actually gained in Portugal. My answer to this was, that such small advantages as they had gained in Portugal, by possessing a small tract of a barren and mountainous country, and a few bad fortresses on its frontiers, ought not to be, even though I should not dispute the certainty of the advantages they had gained there, put in competition against even the great probability of our success at the Havannah; and that therefore, unless he meant to play a very deep stake, he had better sign with me at once, before any sinister event for them might alter the conditions which his Majesty as yet was willing to grant them. It growing late, and we being all engaged to supper, the conversation ended here; and I shall now begin with informing you of all that passed between the ministers and me the next day, having already given you, in my letter of that date, an account of my audiences of the King, Queen, and Royal family. 1762.

On my first seeing in the morning the Comte de Choiseul, he began with complaining that I had not showed any facilities the night before, with regard to the Court of Spain, *without whom they could not make peace.* He then told me, that as a reciprocity was to be observed throughout the whole negotiation, France would not oblige herself to make the evacuations in Germany immediately upon the ratification of the preliminary articles, unless England would consent to commence her epochs for the other restitutions from the same time. As I foresaw this

1762. objection would be made when my instructions came before the Lords of the Council when I was present, and as the argument is undoubtedly a just one, I had no other reply to make to it than this,—that I thought the putting an immediate end to the expenses of the German war would be so agreeable to both nations, that I flattered myself that they had passed this over for mutual convenience, but that if they insisted upon what they now mentioned, upon the footing of a reciprocity, it was what I could not deny they had a right to exact. After dinner the conversation of the former night was renewed between the same parties, but without any more success than before, I refusing absolutely to take the article relating to the new treaty of commerce with Spain but *ad referendum*, though I was assured by the Duc de Choiseul and the Duchesse de Pompadour, whom I saw this morning, that if I would agree absolutely to that article, the French King would take it on himself to answer for M. de Grimaldi signing immediately the preliminaries. On my refusal to do this, we parted with a resolution to send couriers to our respective Courts the next day, and I told M. Grimaldi I would send him the next morning the articles which I should draw up in relation to the security of Portugal.

Upon my return home from Versailles, I found the Sardinian ambassador, who upon the strength of a conversation he had the night before with the Duc de Choiseul and Madame Pompadour, and of the relation I gave him of what had passed between

the ministers at Versailles, M. Grimaldi, and myself, pressed me in the strongest terms, as I valued the success of the negotiation with which I was charged, and as I was convinced of the ill faith and bad intentions of M. Grimaldi, to put him into such a situation, by my accepting the Duc de Choiseul's article about renewing the treaties with Spain, as would disable him from frustrating the conclusion of the preliminaries, by the only point being given up to him in which his Most Christian Majesty could not interfere, it being a measure relative solely to England and Spain. He endeavoured to persuade me that I could not in this be disavowed in England, and that peace or no peace depended upon it. Upon my firmness not to yield in this, he desired me to write a letter next morning before I sent off my courier to the Duc de Choiseul, to inform him how far I could go, in order to enable them to bring M. de Grimaldi to sign and acquiesce in the satisfaction I expected in relation to the boundary of Canada, and the navigation of the Mississippi to the sea. This I consented to do, and he offered to carry my letter himself to Versailles, and to confer with the Duc de Choiseul upon it. The enclosed is a copy of my letter marked E, and I likewise enclose the articles relating to Portugal, marked F, which at the same time I sent to the Marquis de Grimaldi, and the article relating to the treaties, which I thought myself authorised to sign, marked G. Upon the Sardinian ambassador's return from Versailles on Saturday night, he called upon me 1762.

1762. and brought me a letter from the Duke of Choiseul, of which I enclose the copy, marked H, together with a copy of the Duc de Choiseul's observations, marked I; but as in that letter I am referred to what the Bailli de Solar should tell me, I find myself still obliged to take up a little more of your Lordship's time. This minister pressed me in the most earnest manner to comply, as he thought the fate of the negotiation depended in great measure upon it, though the French minister declared they could go no further with regard to the article of the treaties of Spain, than what the Duc de Choiseul had done in the article I have sent you. They propose inserting in the preliminaries relating to the boundary of Canada, either of the articles here enclosed, marked K and L, which is all they say can be done in the preliminaries, as they dare not let M. Grimaldi know how far they are willing to content us, as this would certainly make him refuse signing the preliminaries. But they engage to give, in a separate instrument, to be signed at the same time, the most solemn assurances, in the King of France's name, for the boundaries of Canada as already explained, and for the free navigation of the Mississippi to the sea. The words I had drawn up to answer the intent of the reasonable inspection of the exactness of their engagements relative to the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, they beg may be omitted, and that the King their master hopes this will be agreed to in complaisance to him. They make no other objection to the article about

Dunkirk as I have worded it, except by the alteration of the word *pourvû* to the word *après*, and by leaving out the word *certifient* at the end. 1762.

If your Lordship has patience to go through this long detail, you will be as much *au fait* as I can make you of the intention of these ministers, and I shall only add, that if it shall be his Majesty's pleasure that the signing of the preliminaries be trusted to me, that I believe it absolutely necessary, in order to attain that end, that after I shall have been fully instructed by your Lordship in the particulars above mentioned, I may be at liberty to sign the preliminaries without taking them *ad referendum*, it being certain that, upon my bare declaring to the French ministers my want of power to sign, not only all confidence between them and me will be broke off, but the complaint they made last year, of Mr. Stanley's not having power to conclude anything finally, will be renewed, and they will likewise think themselves not treated with that candour which is due from one nation to another; as, by any agreement they should make with me, which I could only take *ad referendum*, their hands would be tied up, though ours were not, which would be a manifest breach of that inestimable rule of life, not to demand of others that which you are not willing to grant to them.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

1762. This despatch found the ministers in a state of great perplexity. Lord Egremont had imprudently suffered the Duc de Nivernois to draw him into discussions upon some of the articles already settled by the projet, and admitted by the Count de Choiseul in his communications with the Duke of Bedford. A remarkable command of temper, combined with some ingenuity and facility of expression, gave the Duc the advantage in these discussions over an opponent, whose haughtiness and irascibility were not redeemed by superior talents or knowledge; and the French thus recovered in London the ground they had lost in Paris. Such triumphs, however, are only of value when the contracting parties are upon an equality. In this instance, the Duc of Nivernois' successful diplomacy, besides irritating Lord Egremont and displeasing the King, excited such suspicions of the sincerity of the French government, that a majority of the cabinet began to be alarmed by the extent of the responsibility which they had incurred by their instructions to the Duke of Bedford; and they readily acceded to a proposal of Lord Egremont's (alluded to in the Duke's despatch), that when the preliminaries with both crowns were arranged, the Duke should transmit them home, in order that they might be submitted to the King for his approbation previous to their being signed. Lord Mansfield and Mr. Grenville were among those who warmly supported Lord Egremont on this occasion. Lord Bute, after balancing awhile only between his fears of an impeachment and of giving

offence to the Duke of Bedford, allowed, like the generality of timid men, his imagination to prevail over his judgment, and yielded to a pressure which he felt to be unjust, but had not the firmness to resist. 1762.

This abridgment of his powers was deeply resented by the Duke of Bedford. Independently of the distrust of his discretion which it implied, he saw that more scope would be now given to the intrigues of Grimaldi*, and the French ministers being also sure to become additionally reserved towards an ambassador thus disqualified from entering into free discussion with them, he felt his position at Paris to be seriously prejudiced. This conviction, too, was strengthened by his observation of the various influences continually at work in the French court and cabinet, which made it very important that the latter should be allowed no pretext for delay. Indeed, it had been the parting advice to him of Mr. Stanley; founded on longer experience, "never to lose a *present* opportunity at the court of Versailles in the hope of doing better on the morrow."

* The Marquis of Grimaldi had negotiated the family compact between France and Spain, and was decidedly opposed to English interests. He belonged to an illustrious Genoese family. His embassies to Sweden and the Hague had already brought him some distinction, and he was soon removed from Paris to succeed General Wall as prime minister at Madrid. His administration added to the weakness and difficulties of Spain, and after being several years in the possession of power he retired little regretted. The best account of him is given in Lord Malmesbury's Correspondence, vol. i. p. 57.; see also Walpole's Memoirs of George III., vol. i. p. 302.

1762. On the first intimation, therefore, which reached him of Lord Egremont's intention, he addressed a letter* of strong remonstrance to Lord Bute.

"This," says he, "is so contrary to Lord Egremont's previous letter, and so repugnant to the principle on which I was sent hither to conclude finally with both crowns, so injurious to myself, as putting me in a worse footing than he would put one of the clerks in his own office, so lowering me in the eyes of this nation, that I confess I never felt so much uneasiness in my life, especially as it must occasion the negotiation that I am entrusted with to miscarry, unless his Majesty should be graciously pleased specially to rectify it. You will see by the notes from the Sardinian ambassador which I enclose, in what forwardness our affairs now stand, and it will be no less unfortunate to the public than disgraceful to myself, that the want of confidence towards me should cause that to fail in my hands, which would have succeeded in another's. For God's sake, *what occasion*," he finally remarks, "what occasion was there for sending a minister to this Court, if the whole was to be transacted from ministry to ministry? and why was I solicited for this contemptible employment of transmitting *projets* only to my court, after so long a negotiation, which must be finished soon, or not at all."

Lord Bute's reply throws the blame of these new instructions entirely on his colleagues, and if his statement of their sentiments be true, it is no

* September 20. 1762. Bedford MSS.

wonder that he should afterwards have seized the earliest opportunity to quit them. "I assure you," he says, "that I gave way to this purely out of friendship and regard for you. I thought that in the dangerous and responsible position in which you stand, I could not have rendered you more effectual service, nor have given you a stronger proof of my regard and affection, than my making this peace (against which so loud a clamour is raised) the immediate act of all the ministers, rather than of yours alone, and by that means putting it out of the power of every man to screen himself by flinging the odium upon you ; every day furnishes me with so many reasons to support this opinion, that if I erred, the error still remains." * 1762.

Contemporaneously with this resolution of the cabinet, a change took place in the manner of the French ministers towards the Duke, and various difficulties arose on their part, convincing him too plainly, that the influence of an ambassador can seldom be maintained abroad after its decline at home.† He succeeded, notwithstanding, in repairing the errors committed by Lord Egremont, and having prevailed on the French government to accede to what he considered reasonable terms, he renewed his application for permission to sign the preliminaries.

* Lord Bute to the Duke of Bedford, September 28.

† En effet, le procédé n'est pas bon pour lui ni pour nous, qui avoit agi avec le plus grande franchise, &c. Le Comte de Choiseul au Duc de Nivernois, October 3. 1762.—*Ouvres Posthumes de Nivernois,* tom. i. p. 55. See also the Duke of Bedford's letter to Lord Egremont, MS., September 25. 1762.

1762. At this juncture the intelligence of the capture of the Havannah arrived very opportunely to render the contest between the Duke and Lord Egremont, as to the signing the preliminaries, of no practical importance. The French ministers now became eager to close on the terms which had been offered to them, but the English government immediately raised its demands, and Lord Bute, perceiving the excitement created throughout the country by this success, entered heartily, though in some degree clandestinely, into the views of his colleagues. The Duke of Bedford's feelings were so far consulted, that he was informed that the authority originally given to him to sign with both Courts would be restored, conditionally on the terms which formed the basis of the negotiation being obtained without any modification; and to prevent misunderstanding, Lord Egremont informed him, on the 10th of October, that he might soon expect "a *new projet*, so extended as to leave little to settle in the formation of the definitive treaty." This projet was in effect a supplement to the former projet, specifying the articles of which no modification was admissible, and embracing the points raised in the discussions at Paris and London, these being, with very few exceptions, decided in the sense most favourable to the interests of England. It was laid before a council held at Lord Bute's house in Arlington Street on the 22d, and received the formal approbation of the cabinet; at the same time it was resolved that no compensation should be accepted for the surrender of the Ha-

vannah, less than Florida or Porto Rico. On the 26th a despatch was addressed to the Duke of Bedford to that effect. 1762.

The Duke of Bedford had at first been led to believe, from his knowledge of Lord Bute's opinion*, that the cession of the Spanish claims on the English settlement at the Honduras would be a reasonable equivalent for the Havannah; but the subsequent vacillation of Lord Bute satisfied him how little that nobleman was to be depended upon. Accordingly, finding himself unable to leave Paris from a severe fit of the gout, he despatched his secretary, Mr. Neville, to Fontainebleau, where the Court was then residing, with a proposition to the French government of even larger cessions from Spain than he was eventually instructed to require.† The resolution of the cabinet, therefore, produced in him neither surprise nor embarrassment. It was, however, not without some indignation, that he found Lord Egremont resting the alteration made by the ministry in the Projet, not less on the course of the Duke's communications with the Duc de Choiseul, than his own with the Duc de Nivernois. These arguments the Duke could not refrain from handling with great severity in his reply. He gave an absolute denial to the charge against the French ministers, of having departed in any material point from their original agreement, and as to their introduction of new matter into the prelimi-

* See "Notes of Conversation with Lord Bute," p. 96., suprà.

† Letter from Mr. Neville to the Duke of Bedford, October 19. 1762. Bedford MSS.

1762. naries, he insisted that this had only happened in one instance, where the safety of Portugal, and not any French interests, had made it indispensable. So far from there being any just ground of complaint on this head, observed his Grace, "I have gained on the French Court, as well in the 6th article, where the navigation of the Mississippi is given to us * dans tout son cours, as in the 16th and 19th articles, where by the insertion of the words 'dans l'empire' (securing the evacuation of Wesel and Gueldres) his Majesty's engagements with the King of Prussia are most religiously fulfilled," a concession which had always been absolutely refused to Mr. Stanley. †

The French ministers had not only been prepared by the Duke of Bedford to expect the terms imposed by the new Projet, but were actually in possession of the most secret councils of the government on the subject, as early and as completely as the Duke himself. Lord Bute had on the 11th communicated all the important parts of the Projet (distinguishing the conditions which admitted of no modification) to Count de Viry, whom he seems also to have made acquainted with the sentiments of each member of the cabinet. The Count immediately disclosed, as must have been intended, all this information to the Duc de Nivernois, who in transmitting it to the Comte de Choiseul, says, "The above details are confided to me under the

* "La 6me article il (Lord Egremont) regarde comme son bouclier vis-à-vis le parlement Anglais."—Le Duc de Nivernois au Comte de Choiseul, September 16.

† Bedford MSS.

strictest seal of secrecy, which I have promised shall be kept religiously, as well from Spain as from the Duke of Bedford;" and in a second letter on the same day, he repeats the injunctions of secrecy, especially from the King of Spain and the Duke of Bedford, adding, "Remember the fate of Lord Oxford at the peace of Utrecht, and be assured that poor Lord Bute will be equally mindful of it." 1762.

Severe as these conditions were, the distress to which France had been reduced by the war insured their being favourably entertained could the concurrence of Spain be obtained: this happily was received by the Comte de Choiseul on the 3d of October.

The final discussions of the Duke with the French ministers turned mainly on the right claimed by the French to fish in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and on the coasts of Cape Breton and Newfoundland. The public feeling in England certainly was, that the French should be obliged to abandon this great source of wealth and maritime importance. The 16th article of the preliminaries had accordingly been framed with the view of reducing the French fisheries to an insignificance that would insure their rapid decline or extinction, and this had been the course strongly recommended by Mr. Pitt. It was forgotten that a trade employing many thousand seamen, and making a return which at Cape Breton alone had in 1745 reached nearly a million sterling, could not be sacrificed by the minister without creating a national discontent, so general as to lead to the renewal of hostilities on the first favourable opportunity. The Duke of

1762. Bedford knew that the possession of Cape Breton and Newfoundland by England, would give the English merchants advantages in the prosecution of the fisheries with which they ought to be content. His opinions on the subject of trade were far more enlightened than most of the statesmen of his day. He considered the exclusive privileges sought to be obtained for England as not less impolitic than unjust, and he therefore ventured to depart from his instructions by consenting to a modification of the article, admitting the French practically into a participation of the fisheries.*

The preliminaries were signed on the 3d of November.

The following are among the most interesting letters which have been preserved from the Duke's correspondence at this important period of his official life.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

St. James's Place, Thursday, Sept. 16. 1762.

My dear Lord,

Having spent my whole time with pointers and partridges since I parted from your Grace, I have not picked up much matter for a letter to you.

* A recent French writer states that the Duke of Bedford having informed the Duc de Choiseul that his instructions on the subject of the fisheries were imperative, the Duc replied, "En ce cas la guerre! et vous pouvez partir quand il vous plaira."—*Flassan, Histoire de la Diplomatie Francaise,* tom. vi. p. 471. This "brusquerie" is very unlikely to have been committed towards a person of the Duke's temperament, on an occasion where it was so desirable to preserve his good will.

But as I learn from Mr. Wood that a messenger goes to Paris to-night, I cannot refrain from sending you a few lines. 1762.

I am impatient to the last degree for the first letters from you, to hear if this necessary work you are about is likely to be brought to perfection; and have not the least doubt of every thing being done by your Grace which is fit and becoming one of the greatest men in this country to do upon the most important transaction in which he can be engaged, despising popular clamour, having a due regard to his own honour and security. The clamour stirred up against peace has been very great, both in the country as well as in London; I think it rather subsides; that it will totally I am convinced, when such terms are known as you will set your hand to. Your Grace is acquainted with the news from the Havannah; I have a letter from thence of the latest date from Jack Hale *, whom I recommended to Lord Albemarle, of which the enclosed is a copy. He is not of a desponding turn, like his brother, Berney †, which makes me not like the contents of it; more especially if the news of yesterday should prove true, that part of the North Americans going to Cuba are taken by M. Blenac's squadron. Will. Keppel ‡ is very ill,

* The fourth son of Sir Bernard Hale, of King's Walden, Herts. He afterwards became a general and colonel of the 17th Light Dragoons; he died in 1806.

† Bernard Hale, afterwards a general, and lieutenant-governor of Chelsea Hospital; he married Mr. Rigby's sister, and died in 1798.

‡ The Honourable William Keppel, son of Lord Albemarle, afterwards a general and commander-in-chief in Ireland; he died, unmarried, in 1782.

1762. I believe his family do not know it; the other brothers are well. I wish Lord Albemarle and your Grace both well rid of your Spanish difficulties. Little Mons. Nivernois I saw at court yesterday; but there was a greater phenomenon even than a French duke: Lord Kinsale was presented for the first time, and put his hat on in the levee room before the King's face, to the amazement of all the foreigners.* The poor man was a common sailor when the title came to him, and had not estate enough to buy a good hat to put upon his head, which, however, he had borrowed, and did with a very good grace.

I saw Lord Bute yesterday; he seemed in good spirits. The world talks much of me for secretary at war; and the London Evening Post already abuses me as such. I prefer the quiet, and the income of what I am to have, much before the other.

The letters from our German officers are full of uneasiness at the thoughts of fighting every day, when they imagine a cessation of hostilities at hand. This, by all accounts of the Hereditary's attack, was a most desperate measure, and he has suffered accordingly. I wish a general action is not very probable; our officers all expect it.

The Marquess, I hear, is at Blenheim with the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough. The King ordered the Duke of Devonshire to write to his

* John, twenty-fifth Lord Kinsale. He had inherited the title from his second cousin. One of his ancestors obtained from King John, for himself and his heirs male, the privilege of remaining with his head covered in the royal presence.

Grace to carry the sword of state at the instal- 1762.
lation, but I cannot imagine why he refused to go there, I should think he might have construed it into a hunt for the next garter.

I am, &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

(*Extract.*)

St. James's Place, Sunday, Sept. 26. 1762.

Mons. de Nivernois dispatches a courier this evening, but as he told me himself, the courier goes only to Calais, from whence this must take its chance by the common French post. I don't know indeed, if it is not less likely to undergo inspection on that account. The practice of opening letters increases every day; scarce a letter now comes from Germany which is not read; and I should imagine a Paris correspondence at present would excite at least as much curiosity.

No news yet from the Havannah, which alarms a good deal. This delay must occasion the loss of many lives, but I am sanguine yet of our success.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

St. James's Place, September 29. 1762.

Before the arrival of your last courier yesterday, I had determined to take the liberty of writing to you by the safe conveyance of the Duchess of Bedford, as I could speak my mind

1762. freely to you, and have an opportunity of telling you what I should not choose to venture by any other channel. I was well informed of the situation in which your Grace found yourself placed, and of the change made in it since you left England, by Mr. Wood, who had also let me into the progress of your negotiation, the points you had given up, the fresh demands from time to time made upon you by the French Ministers, and the haughtiness and difficulties of the Spanish one. Thus informed, in secret and in confidence, by Wood, I was yesterday morning sent for by Lord Bute, with whom I spent a full hour and half. He opened himself to me in the most confidential manner, he gave me your Grace's private letter to read, he read me his answer to it, which you will receive at the same time with this. I pressed him much upon that part of your letter where you complain of an abridgment of your powers, and enforced, as well I could, the injustice of it towards your Grace, the weakness and bad policy of it towards the King, himself, and all who are sincerely friends to the peace. He protested to me, and dwelt long upon it, that his motive was personal to you, that he meant to involve the whole Cabinet in what risk there might be in consenting to the preliminaries, and to prevent you from being singly responsible. I said I thought that might naturally have occurred sooner, before your instructions were signed, and when, being upon the spot, you might have chose whether you would set out for France so handcuffed. I added, that I believed in all state

matters there was a critical time when to strike, difficult to be recovered if once passed over; and to have taken the discretionary power of so doing totally out of your hands, did appear to me to be injurious to your Grace and impolitic for themselves; and for Lord Egremont to have informed Monsieur de Nivernois of it, was worse than all the rest. He joined with me in that, and said Lord Egremont's whole conduct to Monsieur de Nivernois was faulty; that he should not have entered into treaty with him upon many points which he had done; that it was your Grace who was to treat; that the King meant the negotiation to be carried on by you at Paris; and that Lord Egremont should avoid entering into a discussion of fresh matter here with the French Minister. I plainly perceived George Grenville and Egremont had prevailed upon him to give his consent to the alterations in your instructions, and that he was ashamed of having yielded to them. I must inform you that both the Secretaries of State have complained that you exceeded your instructions in the three points you consented to give up, of the *inspection raisonnable*, the change of the word *pourvû* for *après*, in the affair of the Cunette at Dunkirk, and in your admitting the word *possession* instead of *establishments*, or either of those words to stand in the article relative to the East Indies, together with *Comptoirs*. Lord Bute laughed at George Grenville's lawyer-like distinctions upon these words, and told me he should firmly stand by your Grace's conduct upon these three points. George Grenville is 1762.

1762. frightened out of his wits; he governs Lord Egremont like a child; and I can positively assure your Grace that his Lordship has a cordial hatred for you. This I beg you to depend upon, and to have constantly in your thoughts when you write to him. He will lie and make mischief for the sake of doing so, you know of old. He improves in those arts; the only qualifications he has for being a statesman.

Your Grace will please to understand all relative to my conversation with Lord Bute to have passed previous to the arrival of *Monet*, yesterday. When I asked his Lordship what his resolution was in consequence of your private letter, he said, to summon a Council for Monday next; that he had sent to bring the Chancellor from Bath for that purpose, and in that Council to propose to give you back full powers to sign with *both Courts*, restraining you to the grand and material terms stipulated by us and France before your departure. I asked him if he was sure of the concurrence of his Council upon this proposition. To which he answered, the King would be obeyed, and would talk to his two secretaries upon their obedience. I then mentioned my Lord President. He told me he had seen him the day before; that in general his discourse was as he wished it to be; but that upon one point his Lordship's reasoning seemed extraordinary. It seems to me, indeed, to be entirely void of all reason or sense. He would consent to give up the Havannah for Portugal, if we had actually taken it; but he cannot consent, he says, to give up *such conquests as we may have made upon*

Spain. Does he imagine, says I, that Lord Albemarle will have taken more than the Havannah? In short, more need not to be said upon his Lordship's understanding, which I hear, too, from other quarters, as well as his health, is in daily visible decay. 1762.

I then asked him of Lord Mansfield's opinion. He said, he thought Lord Mansfield had all along been against the peace. Why a Chief Justice should be summoned to Council (an unusual thing) when known to be adverse, I own I don't comprehend. But all their opinions may be, and I hope will be, changed and influenced by the good tidings your Grace's yesterday's despatch is said to have brought.

I must make one observation upon Lord Bute's reason, which he has given me, for consenting to the alteration of your instructions, which occurs to me whilst I am writing, and which convinces me it was Grenville's fears which operated upon him. If it had only been his fear of your committing yourself too much, he might have wrote you a private letter of caution; but the truth is, these Secretaries infused some of their fears into him of your going too great lengths to bring the peace to bear, of which I hope and make no doubt you are sufficiently upon your guard, knowing, as you well do, what heads and hearts you are to depend upon for support.

As Lord Tavistock goes with the Duchess, and means to pay you but a short visit, I trust your

1762. Grace will favour me with a few lines by him to inform me of the situation in which you really find yourself. I shall lament being left quite in the dark, as I think Lord Bute is disposed at present to think it necessary to account and apologise to me for his conduct towards you. I shall certainly be very explicit with his Lordship upon that topic, and let him see and understand upon every occasion, that he has never yet met with a friend, since he has had power, that has done him essential service but your Grace.

Thursday morning, Sept. 30. 1762.

So far I had wrote.

When I carried my letter yesterday to Bedford House, to desire my Lady Duchess to take the trouble of conveying it to your Grace, I found my Lord Bute and my Lord Gower with her, and her Grace can best inform you of the cursed situation in which these two rascally Secretaries of State are disposed to plunge their master, your Grace, and their *friend*, the Minister. In the evening, the news of the taking the Havannah came: the conquest is the completest ever known, fourteen sail of the line, thirty merchantmen loaded for Europe, three millions of dollars of the King of Spain, besides immense private treasure. Captain Hervey, with whom I supped at White's, lays Lord Albemarle's and Pocock's * shares at one hundred and fifty

* Admiral Sir George Pocock, K. B., commander of the fleet in the expedition to the Havannah.

thousand pounds a piece. This event will confirm the Secretaries in their resolution to have an equivalent for it, and I apprehend the Council will now be unanimously of that mind. Lord Bute, in a note he wrote me in the evening, to tell me the news, says at the end, *all this will infallibly give a new face to the negotiation.* 1762.

Captain Hervey, 300 leagues from the Channel, took a French ship of six hundred tons, bound to Newfoundland, full of warlike stores, provisions, and soldiers, and two officers well versed in Indian transactions on board her. What they were bound to do in North America, I don't comprehend.

I heartily wish your Grace joy at the arrival of the Duchess and Lord Tavistock, and of the comfort it will be to you to have your family with you. That you may enjoy all comfort and happiness in the world, I most sincerely pray.

I am, &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Canterbury, Thursday evening, September 30. 1762.

I came here with Mr. Fox in his way to his favourite residence* by the sea side on a sudden this morning, as well to talk over with him the many occurrences of yesterday as to inform the Duchess as well as we could by word of mouth of

* Kingsgate in the Isle of Thanet.

1762. some things which I think it absolutely necessary you should be acquainted with. We have talked them over very fully with her, but I will just mention the heads of some which may serve as memorandums to refresh her Grace's memory after the fatigue of her journey.

In my letter yesterday, I told your Grace that Lord Bute had given me to understand that the King intended to talk to his Secretaries of State upon their scruples, formed since your Grace's departure for Paris, and which lay concealed till that epoch in their doubtful breasts. Accordingly his Majesty undertook that task; and to express their behaviour upon the occasion, I cannot do better than repeat the King's own words, as he wrote them in a letter to Lord Bute as soon as he had dismissed them; judge, says he, of Grenville's countenance by that of his brother at the installation. Lord Egremont was wise enough to fly in a passion in the closet, a circumstance not easily forgiven, I believe, by Majesty, and to tell the King, that he had but one sentiment to offer to his Majesty upon the subject, which was, to send the Duke of Bedford certain fixed articles for the preliminaries, upon no event to be changed, and if the French refused to comply with such, immediately to recall his Grace. The King's answer was that his sentiment was totally different from his own; that a boy of ten years old might have as well be sent to Paris on such an errand; but that what gave him satisfaction in the Duke of Bedford's having undertaken the

negotiation was, that he had the best opinion and reliance upon his head and heart, nor had he a subject on whom he could more safely depend; in short, he spoke daggers to him, but to no purpose, for I have reason to believe neither he nor brother Secretary will recede. Indeed, I find Lord Bute has told Mr. Fox this morning that not a single councillor, not even Halifax, will now consent to give up the Havannah without an equivalent. And Florida, his Lordship thinks, will be the one proposed. He will before the Council meets on Monday propose to them separately to make peace without insisting upon an equivalent; but if he is right in his opinion of nobody's being of his mind, he will not propose it in Council only to have it given out into the world that Lord Bute was the only man who would have given up the Havannah for nothing. 1762.

I am, &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

MR. FOX TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

October 13. 1762.

My dear Lord,

I have so little notice of this messenger that I must tell my sad story to your Grace in very few words. I was brought this day se'nnight from that retired place and way of life which the Duchess of Bedford saw my going to with so much pleasure; and told that Mr. Grenville (half unable, half un-

1762. willing) could go on no longer. His Majesty was in great concern lest a good peace in a good House of Commons should be lost, and his authority disgraced, for want of a proper person to support his honest measures, and keep his closet from that force with which it was so threatened. I was that person who could do it: so called upon he had that good opinion of me to think I would; and he knew not whom else he could call, if I declined it. I took no time to consider before I answered, that to be Secretary of State too, if the sessions was troublesome, would be impossible for me to undertake. I represented, as to the rest, that it would be adding unpopularity to unpopularity, of which there was enough; that my name might frighten Tories away, and that an experiment which should fail would make his Majesty's case very disagreeable indeed. I was, with difficulty, excused from being Secretary of State. The rest was insisted upon, or rather asked, in such terms, and in such a manner, that, in short, I was brought to feel it a point of honour to obey. I am very sure that is my motive, because I have nothing either to wish or ask, and most unhappy to leave the quiet life I enjoyed, and shall, I fear, find was necessary to my health. In short, I am this morning declared a Cabinet Councillor, and his Majesty's Minister in the House of Commons. Lord Halifax is Secretary of State, and George Grenville first Lord of the Admiralty. Your Grace will, I hope, approve of what I have done, and it will be my best endeavour to gain your approbation of

whatsoever I shall do. I am an humble imitator of your Grace, and give up a most happy situation to what I think my duty. May my doing so have as much effect in one way, as your Grace's will have in a much greater! 1762.

I am, &c.
H. Fox.

LORD BUTE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, October 14. 1762.

My dear Lord,

Your Grace will be surprised at my long silence; but the strange situation of things here, and the necessity of some alteration, made me delay writing, till I could inform you of the remedy that has been applied to the weakness under which Government laboured. Your Grace was present at some of the unhappy scenes of division amongst us: these have gone on increasing; and a strange opinion taken up and supported, of carrying the articles of peace to parliament, to be approved of before signing, spread such rumours over the city, and sunk the Cabinet so extremely in the eyes of even well-meaning people, that some change was unavoidable. The King therefore empowered me to offer the seals to Mr. Fox, who could not be brought to accept of them, but very nobly offered to stand foremost in the House of Commons, and to take all responsibility on him in the Cabinet, and this at a minute, when not only every violence and opposition seems intended against

1762. the peace, but, I have reason to believe, a plan formed to force the King's cabinet, and put upon him a detested minister, with as detested measures. I should say more on this subject, but I know Mr. Fox proposes writing himself to your Grace. Lord Halifax has the Northern seals, and Mr. Grenville the Admiralty. The taking of the Havannah has turned the heads of the wisest men and those most inclined to peace: men that your Grace is well acquainted with, and whose voice you have heard in the Cabinet loudest for almost any peace, now think the French terms even ought to be screwed up higher, the most moderate state compensations for the Havannah as indispensable; and indeed I believe Lord Egremont will inform you that this is not the opinion of the English alone. The King proposes that we should in a very few days prepare our final answer, wherein nothing will be altered in the French articles from what they had agreed to previous to your Grace's departure, and such moderate offers to Spain, that, if rejected, will prove that, in spite of all our endeavours, the happy minute is not yet come for putting an end to this destructive war. God forbid this should happen; and I flatter myself it will not, and that your Grace will get the blessing and praise of every honest man, by procuring a great, just, and lasting peace to your country.—Lady Bute's best compliments, with my own, attend your Grace and the Duchess.

I am, &c. &c.

BUTE.

1762.

LORD BUTE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, October 24. 1762.

My dear Lord,

I am extremely sorry to observe, by your Grace's of the 20th, that any letter from hence has given you the least uneasiness. Jealous of your honour, my dear Lord, and bound to support you by every method in my power, forgive me if I say I have not discovered the least intention to offend you. Your Grace knows well that the heads of a Secretary of State's letter are composed of the united opinions of the King's servants, approved by his Majesty. I myself firmly believe the Duke de Choiseul wishes to make peace, and intends it; but it is fair to presume he would make it as good for his master as he possibly could: Nivernois' memorial, and the project that then alarmed your Grace, prove plainly the truth of my assertion. Your Grace will now perceive by the set of articles sent what opinions are held here, even by those you have in highest esteem; for I do assure you, I never was present at a more unanimous cabinet than the one held on Friday; nor must this surprise your Grace, for such is the change made here by the conquest of the Havannah, that I solemnly declare, I don't meet with one man, let his attachment be never so strong to the service of the King, his wishes for peace never so great, that does not positively affirm, this rich acquisition must not be ceded without satisfaction in the fishery, and some

1762. material compensation: this is so much the opinion of all the King's servants, that the greatest care has been taken to soften every expression, and to state the lowest terms that peace can possibly be made on; and notwithstanding all the disadvantage and perplexities that attend the continuation of the war, even these difficulties are preferred to ceding an iota more than is done in the articles now sent. Your Grace will have then our real ultimatum to present to France: happy for both countries if they accept it. What regards them is in nothing altered from the project they had agreed to previous to your Grace's departure. We have explained what relates to the East Indies, and distance to be observed in their fishing; matters to them of little consequence. With regard to the Spaniards, we have used the greatest moderation; our demands are trivial compared with the important conquest we give up: on the whole, therefore, we now desire either a speedy signature, or a plain refusal, determined to prepare for either event. With regard to the happy termination of this great work, I used the term *speedy*, from a thorough conviction, that if the King shall not be able in his speech to acquaint parliament with the preliminaries being signed, the articles once brought into debate, and descanted on by so numerous an assembly, will put it out of the power of this or any other administration, though as well inclined (a thing not likely), to continue negotiation, or make any peace. This is not my sole opinion; it is that of

the ablest and most experienced of the King's servants, most your Grace's friends; but I hope better things; I hope to hear of this noble work being accomplished in a few days, that will give ease to these kingdoms, and cover your Grace with immortal honour. This is the fervent wish of, my dear Lord, 1762.

&c. &c.

BUTE.

EARL OF EGREMONT TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Whitehall, October 26. 1762.

It is the King's pleasure that you do peremptorily insist upon one of the two cessions proposed in the 19th article *, as it is of indispensable necessity that a proper compensation should be obtained for the important restitution of the Havannah. The manifest inferiority in value of either of the two compared with the conquest which is to be given up, will afford your Grace irresistible arguments upon this occasion.

I am, &c.

EGREMONT.

THE KING TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

St. James's, October 26. 1762.

My Lord Duke,

This is so critical a minute both for my own honour and the security of the nation, that I

* Florida, or Porto Rico.

1762. think it necessary to send you these few lines, not to exhort you, for I know your steady and affectionate adherence to my interest, but to declare to you, with my own pen, that after weighing every consequence, I am determined either to make the peace I now send you or to continue the war. I think if the French and Spaniards have not very bad intelligence, they will see the danger run by suffering this to hang till the meeting of my parliament; the best despatch, therefore, I can receive from you, and the most essential to my service, will be these preliminaries signed. May Providence, in compassion to human misery, give you this means of executing this great and noble work, and be assured I will never forget the duty and attachment you show to me in this important crisis.

GEORGE R.

MR. FOX TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

October 26. 1762.

My dear Lord,

I question whether your Grace imagines what pleasure and what honour your letters to me and to Lord Bute have given and conferred on me. But if your Grace does not know how great the obligation is, I assure I am and ever shall be sensible of it in its utmost extent, and never can forget it.

I have been at two councils, of which Lord Gower by letter, and Rigby by word of mouth, will

give your Grace a particular account. Whatever has been, I think for the future your Grace will have no reason to complain. 1762.

Mr. George Grenville, though of the Cabinet, will not longer have it in his power to guide and interline Lord Egremont's drafts. And from what I have picked up, as well as from observation during the little time I have been amongst them, Lord Egremont, in what he has done, has not had the design which, from appearances, your Grace imputes to him. Viry, who is warm on your Grace's side, and I believe very impartial with respect to the two brothers, lays it all on Grenville. If Rigby should tell your Grace that Lord Mansfield has aided and abetted him, I cannot deny but that it is highly probable. My being Secretary of State would not have given me the correspondence with your Grace. I do not know what I should not have risked for such an honour, flattered with thinking it would have been agreeable, and perhaps of service to your Grace. It was very kind in Lord Gower to come to the Cabinet, and is so taken. Mr. Grenville having, with the seals, got rid of his fears too, and Lord Mansfield seeing that doubts and difficulties, and mischievous though small criticisms, are no longer hearkened to, I may venture to say, there is not a man now in the council who does not wish to see the preliminaries signed by your Grace as soon as possible.

I thought my name would add to Lord Bute's unpopularity, and I represented it strongly to the

1762. King as one reason why he should not command me to this service. But it is with great pleasure I can tell your Grace that this has not happened. I am said to have come unwillingly, and my being where I am is looked upon as a certain sign that his Majesty intends to be firm. I am very happy in this opinion, which, if it prevails, will make that part easy to H. M., which, at all events, he is determined to act.

I wanted all your approbation joined to my own opinion of my conduct, and with these I shall go on with courage; but nothing can ever prevent my feeling, in the most affecting manner, that the friendship with the Duke of Cumberland, which was the honour and happiness of my life, will be much impaired if not quite broken by it. This is a very melancholy consideration. But I did my duty, and do not repent, whilst I lament this consequence of what I have done, and indeed it is grievous to me.

I am, &c.

H. Fox.

October 30.—Lord Bute informs the Duke of Bedford confidentially, that means having been at last found to enable the Treasury to go on for fourteen days without danger, the ministers had so far yielded to the earnest request of the Duc de Nivernois as to consent that the Parliament should be prorogued to the 25th of November, in order to

give time for the arrival of the answer of the Court of Spain. The letter thus concludes:—"The secret practices of faction begin to transpire: some resignations are made; others, I am told, about to be; every method is tried to bring the Rutland family to some desperate step: what the success may be I do not pretend to say; but this I can safely assure your Grace, that the King's rest is not disturbed." 1762.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE KING.

November 3. 1762.

Sir,

It is impossible to be more sensible than I am of your Majesty's great condescension and goodness towards me, in giving me your orders immediately under your own royal hand; and could any thing add to that steady adherence I have ever had to your Majesty's honour and interest, so gracious an encouragement would undoubtedly do it. But as I am sure that I do not fail in good-will and dutiful endeavours to serve your Majesty, I trust in your goodness to excuse that want of abilities and experience in negotiation, which is so necessary in the conduct of an affair of so great moment as the reconciling three great nations. I have, Sir, however, so far succeeded as to have signed this morning the preliminary articles with the French and Spanish plenipotentiaries, and I flatter myself that your Majesty will approve what

1762. I have done, as I have, as near as possible, kept to the very words of my instructions, and have, I hope, never departed from the true spirit of them. Your Majesty's approbation of my conduct will make me perfectly happy; and I pray to God that you may long live to enjoy and to preserve to your people, and humanity in general, the blessings of peace. I have the honour to be, with the greatest duty and submission,

Your Majesty's, &c.

BEDFORD.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

Fontainebleau, Nov. 3. 1762.

My Lord,

I have the satisfaction to send to your Lordship by Monet the enclosed preliminary articles, which I signed this morning with the ministers plenipotentiary of the courts of France and Spain. I have endeavoured to the utmost of my power to keep within the limits of my instructions, and have in no point deviated from them, but where I found it absolutely necessary so to do in order to prevail on the French court to insist so strongly with that of Spain to give to his Majesty such satisfaction with regard to the points in dispute with that power as the King had a right to expect. and without the obtaining which I found he was determined, on the advice of his servants, to continue the war. Your Lordship will

see, in casting your eye over the 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th articles, how far I have succeeded in this; and I can with truth assure your Lordship, that had I not ventured to take the liberty to relax in some very few points of no great importance to us, but of great moment in the eyes of the French King and his ministers, I should never have been able to have got that court to have spoke so roundly to the Spanish minister as they have done, H. M. C. M. having taken upon himself actually to order the Marquis of Grimaldi to sign, which he absolutely refused doing without such an order. 1762.

The 15th article, relating to the prizes, stands in the very words sent me by your Lordship.*

The 16th, stipulating the demolition of all fortifications, and the liberty granted to the British subjects of cutting logwood, &c., is no way altered than by the addition of these words: "*et autres lieux du territoire d'Espagne dans cette partie du monde.*" † As M. Grimaldi refused absolutely to sign without the addition of these words, I judged I might venture to admit them, as in the observations sent me by your Lordship on the contre projet, it was only stated as unnecessary to name particular

* By the 15th article, all questions of captures made by the English on the Spanish ships are to be adjudicated by the English courts of Admiralty, according to international law.

† By this article, it is engaged that all the fortifications constructed by British subjects in the Bay of Honduras, or in other parts of the Spanish territory in that part of the world, shall be destroyed in three months, but that British subjects or their workmen may continue to cut logwood and build stores and houses for their use and residence without molestation.

1762. places, and I have besides the satisfaction to be able to observe, that no part of those coasts but those which are in the undoubted territory of Spain can be concluded in it, and I knew it to be his Majesty's intentions to demolish all unjust encroachments on the Spanish territory. The 17th article, in relation to the fishery, is in the very words of the contre projet, though it was obtained with the utmost difficulty, and granted with very ill-grace by M. Grimaldi, upon the French ministers' insisting upon it, which they did in the firmest manner.*

The 18th article, ceding the island of Cuba and the Havannah to the crown of Spain, is only altered by the addition of these words, " tout ce qu'il a conquis dans " before the words " l'isle de Cuba."

In the 19th article, in which the crown of Spain makes the cession of Florida to his Majesty, there is a small verbal alteration, consequential to the former one, and at the end of it there is the same provision for the toleration of the Romish religion, and the liberty of emigration to the subjects of Spain, as had been allowed in a former article to the Canadians. There is likewise a stipulation for the transporting his Christian Majesty's effects out of that province. The 20th article, relating to Portugal, is as specified in the contre projet.

In the 22d article, for cessions and evacuations, the epoch for the mutual cessions of Cuba and Florida is put to three months instead of four, and this I agreed to on a principle I could not gainsay,

* This article gives up all pretensions of Spanish subjects to fish on the coasts of America.

that places at a greater distance than these were put on a shorter epoch. 1762.

I have stated these Spanish points first, though out of their order, as they appeared to me not only of the greatest difficulty in the negotiating them, but as of the greatest import in the eyes of his Majesty, and in the opinion of the public, as likewise to evince the necessity I was reduced in order to obtain these inestimable advantages to the crown of Great Britain, to abate in some trifling circumstances, which appeared to the French ministers, and I may say to the French King himself, hard and unreasonable. In the 3d article, in relation to the French fishery, I found myself obliged, in order not to lose the whole treaty, to consent to a reduction of the six leagues distance from any of our coasts, as well on the continent as on the islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, within which compass they were not to fish, to three leagues, and to abate them likewise one half of the distance from the coast of Cape Breton, viz.: fifteen leagues within which they are not to fish. The argument made use of by them for reducing the six leagues within the gulf to three was unanswerable, as by it they would virtually have been precluded from making any use of the fishery to which this very article nominally entitled them. As I had a latitude given me by your Lordship's letters to reduce the distance of thirty leagues, I thought, considering the assistance I expected from them, and which, indeed, they gave me in the most material

1762. points, they had a right to expect this very trifling complaisance on my part, more especially as this was new matter never mentioned to them before Monday last. For the above reasons (which have indeed answered my most sanguine expectations) I have ventured to give up in the 4th article, for the cession of St. Pierre and Miquelon, the *inspection raisonnable*, upon the insertion of the French King's *parole royale* not to fortify them. This was considered by his most Christian Majesty, as freeing him from a subjection which I am convinced he never would have consented to, and undoubtedly was of the utmost service towards carrying points of real moment.

The very few alterations of words in the remaining articles are so very trifling, that I shall not take up your Lordship's time in the specification of them; and I shall only observe, that the French court having acceded to the article of not furnishing succours of any kind to their allies engaged in the present war in Germany, was greatly more than I expected I could have brought them to do, and I flatter myself that the declaration I have accepted from these ministers about the payment of the arrears of their subsidies now due, cannot be unpleasing to his Majesty, as it could never be imagined that a future treaty could expunge debts justly due to any power whatsoever; and in this place I must do justice to the Court of Vienna, in declaring that I believe, by all I can learn here, that they have not thrown difficulties in the way in order to prevent the happy work of peace being brought to a conclusion. If I should be so happy

as to have, in ever so small a degree, conduced to this salutary work, and to have carried into execution my Royal master's instructions to his satisfaction and to the good of the public, I shall think myself amply repaid for all the pains and anxieties I have felt during the conduct of it. I most earnestly intreat your Lordship to lay me at his Majesty's feet, with my most solemn assurance of my having acted to the best of my judgment and abilities for his honour and the good of his kingdom, most humbly submitting to his gracious consideration my conduct in this great affair with which I have been entrusted. 1762.

I am, &c. &c.

BEDFORD.

P. S. I have, according to my orders, contracted the term of six weeks for the exchange of the ratifications to that of one month.

His most Christian Majesty has created the Comte de Choiseul Duc de Praslin and pair de France.*

B.

* The Duc owed his success in life to his cousin, the Duc de Choiseul. He had served with some distinction in Italy under the Prince de Conti; but was little known until he succeeded his cousin, first as Ambassador at Vienna, and next as Minister of War. He seems to have been sensible, laborious, and not ill-informed; certainly, the French navy recovered during his administration much of the efficiency which it had lost in the war. A dry manner, an almost impenetrable reserve, combined with a total absence of the graces that shone so eminently in his cousin, prevented his ever being popular. He died in 1785, aged seventy-three.

1762. DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

Fontainbleau, Nov. 3. 1762.

My Lord,

With regard to your Lordship's letter (apart) of the 20th of last month, acquainting me with the interview you have had, by the King's command, with the chairman and deputy chairman of the East India Company, in order to gather from them the proper lights for settling what is relative to the interests of that Company in India, and particularly in Bengal, your Lordship will observe that the article which those gentlemen admitted to your Lordship would be satisfactory, and which you transmitted to me accordingly, has been signed without the least alteration.

I am, &c. &c.

BEDFORD.

MR. STANLEY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Admiralty, November 8. 1762.

My dear Lord,

I am so much afraid of interrupting those occupations in which you are at present engaged, so much to your own honour, and to the public advantage, that I believe I should have suppressed the warm emotions of joy that your success has given me, if the liberty you indulge me with, of enclosing my packets to your Grace, did not furnish me with so obvious an opportunity of giving way to them.

I hope this circumstance will appear to you a sufficient excuse for my congratulating you most heartily on the glory you have acquired in accom-

plishing this most difficult negotiation, and on restoring peace to mankind. There are, perhaps, not many who know better than myself what obstacles you must have met in your way, and how many talents were necessary to surmount them; none, I am sure, can with greater pleasure do justice to your success. I should have been very happy to have assured your Grace of these sentiments at Paris, if the preliminaries had not been signed so near the opening of parliament, or if my journey thither before that event had not appeared to me altogether improper. 1762.

I am, &c.

HANS STANLEY.*

* The Right Honourable Hans Stanley of Paultons in Hampshire, a grandson of Sir Hans Sloane. The part taken by him in the negotiations at Paris in 1761 have often been noticed in these pages. His discharge of the duties then imposed on him was greatly to his honour. His intelligence appears to have been deep and exact, and his plan of conduct judicious; nor did the dignity of the crown or the country suffer from the comparatively inferior rank of the minister. His despatches are well written and interesting. His testimony in the Duke's favour is additionallly valuable from the circumstance of its being well known that he was deeply disappointed at not being himself entrusted with this negotiation. On his return home, he had attached himself to Mr. Pitt; but this did not prevent his defending the peace heartily and ably in the House of Commons, an act of honesty, however, which it is gratifying to perceive was not injurious to his fortunes, since he was appointed ambassador at St. Petersburgh as soon as Mr. Pitt came into power. Mr. Stanley was a superior scholar, being, as we are told by Dr. Warton, learned both in ancient and modern Greek. Without any pretensions to eloquence, he spoke with spirit, sense, and cleverness in the House. A love of ease and society, and the enjoyment of an ample fortune, kept him from taking a very active part in business; besides, he had a hot temper, and an independent mind: in his latter years he suffered much from gout. He died very suddenly at Paultons, in middle age, in 1780.

1762. LORD BUTE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, November 10. 1762.

My dear Lord,

I received your Grace's with the welcome news of the finishing this important business, and this minute I am honoured with another letter of the 5th. Permit me to congratulate you, my dear Lord, on the noblest and most essential service ever performed by a subject for his King and country. Our cabinet now appear almost as happy and satisfied as I am; and the King, whose opinion your Grace will be more anxious about, expressed the highest approbation of your conduct, and desired me to signify as much to you, as well as the satisfaction your letter gave him: yes, my Lord, you have acted a great and noble part, worthy of your blood, worthy a Russell; and when once the dreadful situation of this poor country comes to be fully known, even base ingratitude will be forced to confess the debt they owe to the courage and vigour of the Duke of Bedford. Don't expect, however, too sudden a change in many people deluded by the blackest art of faction. The day before your letters came, the city had intelligence of the peace being signed, and Porto Rico ceded: the cry then was for Florida; that the former was a useless barren isle; now the same mouths vomit out curses against Florida, &c. My warmest felicitations attend the Duchess on this happy occasion, in which Lady Bute desires to join.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUTE.

1762.

MR. FOX TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

November 12. 1762.

My dear Lord,

I give your Grace many thanks for the honour of your letter received yesterday; but as great an honour as your letters are, pray, my Lord, do not think it necessary to write to me when it is at all inconvenient. I love and know your Grace's sincerity too well to mind ceremony. I saw his Majesty to-day, who speaks of your Grace, and what you have done, as your best friends could wish. He says he thinks himself, and that his council should think themselves, much obliged to your Grace for acting like a man of honour and courage in doing, at your own risk, without delay, what in your judgment (and in his too) is so honourable and advantageous to him and to your country. I can't be sorry for a little of what your Grace calls ill-usage, if that has given your Grace an opportunity of acting thus nobly. Nobody blames your Grace, whilst many of us, as well as our master, approve highly. Some wonder at you, but in this case certainly wonder is (what Dr. Young calls it) involuntary praise. Lord Kinnoul * resigns, putting it entirely on the usage the Duke of Devonshire has met with: Lord Strange will, I believe,

* Lord Kinnoul had been attached to the Duke of Newcastle, whom he thus soon followed into retirement. He never returned to public affairs, passing the remainder of his life in Scotland, devoted to rural pursuits. He died in 1787, aged seventy-seven, without issue, and was succeeded by his nephew.

1762. succeed him. We are loudly threatened, but I see no reason why, like other threatened folk, we may not live long. It is certain, notwithstanding what your Grace may hear of clamour, that your peace will be well received; and a means of establishing, not ruining, the administration.

I am, &c. &c.

H. Fox.

How can I have forgot to tell your Grace that Lord Sandwich goes ambassador to Spain? The King is pleased with the manner of his coming to him. I wish his H. R. H. * may not be as much displeased. I fear he is extremely so with me.

PAUL RABAUT † TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Nismes, Nov. 15^{me} 1762.

Milord,

J'ose espérer que votre Excellence, ne desaprouvera point que je prenne la liberté de lui écrire, n'ayant d'autre but en cela que de lui fournir l'oc-

* The Duke of Cumberland broke with Mr. Fox entirely on this occasion, and would listen to no explanation from him.

† Paul Rabaut was at this time a Calvinist clergyman at Nismes. He distinguished himself by an ardent zeal for the propagation of the Protestant faith, as well as by the active benevolence which he showed in visiting the prisons and administering to the wants of the suffering and destitute. He was an eloquent preacher, and had great influence over those of his own persuasion. More celebrity, however, has attached to his name from the eloquence and talents of his son, Rabaud de St. Estienne, one of the early heroes and victims of the French revolution.

casion de concourir à une excellente œuvre. Quarante-neuf personnes, gémissent depuis long-tems, savoir, trente-trois hommes sur les galères de Toulon ou de Marseilles, et seize femmes dans le tour d'aiguemortes en Languedoc, uniquement pour avoir assisté à quelqu'une de ces assemblées réligieuses que les réformés n'ont pas discontinué dans ce royaume depuis la révocation de l'édit de Nantes. Plusieurs de ces infortunés éprouvent une captivité aussi dure depuis plus de trente ans. 1762.

Quoi de plus digne, Milord, du cœur généreux du Roi de la Grande Bretagne que de briser les chaines de tant de malheureux, de procurer la liberté à ces femmes pieuses qui ne l'ont perdue que pour avoir fait des actes de la même réligion que ce grand monarque professe. Non, le défenseur de la foy ne verra point leur sort d'un œil indifférent; son ame compatissante, touchée de tant et de si longues souffrances endurées pour le nom de Christ, s'empressera d'y mettre fin. Vous pouvez être, Milord, l'heureux instrument de cette délivrance; et votre piété si connue, la bonté de votre cœur, me persuadent que vous le voudrez. Lorsqu'on parloit d'assembler le congrès pour la paix à Augsbourg, le grand prélat qui occupe si dignement la premier siège de la Grande Bretagne eut la bonté de parler au Roy sur cette affaire, et sa Majesté daigna donner des espérances flateuses. Aujourd'hui, Milord, que les préliminaires de la paix sont signés, à ce qu'on assure, et que la bonne harmonie va se rétablir entre les deux cours, les circonstances

1762. paroissent plus favorables que jamais pour obtenir la liberté de ces captifs. Je supplie très-humblement votre Excellence, au nom de tous ces confesseurs de Jesus Christ, de vouloir écrire en leur faveur. Avec quels transports ne beniront ils pas la main qui les aura délivrés! Quels vœux ne pousseront ils pas vers le ciel pour leurs libérateurs! *

Je suis, &c.
PAUL RABAUT.

* The case of the French Protestants was strongly urged on the Duke by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Secker, and the Duke engaged to use his best efforts for their relief. Accordingly he applied to the Duc de Choiseul; and as the application was favourably entertained it probably succeeded, but the final result does not appear in the Duke's correspondence. By the 7th article of his "Instructions," he had been required to interfere "for the release of any French Protestants condemned to the gallies on account of their religion," following the precedent of the Treaty of Utrecht, which contains a similar provision. The persecution, however, to which this letter refers, had not been carried on by the government, but by the provincial tribunals, which were too ready to put in force the brutal edicts of a fanatical age, especially in remote districts where the clergy were influential, and had been irritated by the success of the Protestants in making proselytes from the Catholic congregations. The various legal disabilities to which the Protestants in France were still subject, found no parallel even in those which attached to the Catholics in Ireland. Among the favours which the Duke of Bedford was requested to ask of the French government, one was, that permission should be granted to a Protestant family to sell their property and retire, with the produce of the sale, to England. The judicial murders of the unfortunate Calas and his son took place only three years subsequently to the Duke's mission.

1762.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

Paris, Nov. 25. 1762.

My Lord,

It gives me inexpressible pleasure to find that my endeavours to serve my King and country have been so graciously received by his Majesty, whose orders I have endeavoured to fulfil in the best manner I have been capable of doing; and I think myself much obliged to your lordship for the pleasure you express in finding yourself the channel to convey to me those very gracious expressions from our royal Master, and I intreat your Lordship to lay me at his Majesty's feet, with my most humble thanks for this his great goodness to me, and with the assurance of my continuing my utmost efforts towards bringing this great affair with which I have been entrusted to a happy conclusion.

I should have thought myself highly fortunate could I have brought the French King and his ministers to have adopted the arguments made use of in England with regard to the *inspection raisonnable*, being a point of no moment to them, and consequently, not worth the disputing with: but unfortunately they see it in quite a different light, as being derogatory to the honour of the most Christian King, and of no manner of avail or utility to us. However, I insisted upon it to the utmost, and did not give it up till I found it

1762. absolutely necessary for carrying points of much more moment than this.

The Duc de Choiseul promised to send me immediately the passports for the admission of the English engineers into Dunkirk, and for their having free access to inspect the lunette, which I will send your Lordship as soon as ever I receive them. I have likewise applied for passports from both courts for the ships that are to carry the news of the ratifications of the preliminary articles to distant parts, which have been likewise promised me, but as yet they have not been sent me. Your Lordship will see, by the enclosed copy of the Duc de Choiseul's letter to me of the 21st instant, the readiness with which the French ministry have agreed to exchange a number of blank passports for merchant ships, by this offer coming to me before I had ever mentioned it to them. I likewise, in conformity to the orders I received in the postscript of your Lordship's *particular* dispatch, informed these ministers that Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick had been directed to concert with the Marshals d'Etrées and Soubise the means of preventing the further effusion of blood; but of this they had not received an account from their army some days ago.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD. 1762.

St. James's Place,
Friday evening, Nov. 26. 1762.

My dear Lord,

This morning, by Walker, I received the favour of your Grace's letter of the 22d, and at noon the guns at the Tower and in the park proclaimed the arrival of the ratifications. I am sorry that you should meet with any vexation in any part of the correspondence with the Secretary of State, at the winding up of your glorious work; but admire the philosophy with which you despise it, and which I hope you will preserve. It was odd enough after receiving your Grace's letter this morning, describing his Lordship's letter to you, that Lord Egremont should take me aside before dinner and ask me how the Duke of Bedford and he were to be together; my answer was, that I hoped you would be perfect good friends. I have not had time to talk to Lord Bute yet upon the contents of your letter, but depend upon it I will not fail to do it. To-day, indeed, I believe your Grace will think would not have been a very proper season to have talked much to him upon foreign affairs, considering what treatment he met with yesterday at home; it must poison the joy which even the arrival of the ratifications gave him. The great curiosity of seeing the King's new coach yesterday had filled the park and streets, by all accounts, fuller than they were at the coronation. I was above three hours upon the road from the

1762. end of Pall Mall to the middle of Parliament Street, where I was obliged at last to get into a chair and be carried a back way to the House of Commons. In this crowd Lord Bute was very much insulted, hissed in every gross manner, and a little pelted. It is said, but it is denied also, that the King was insulted. Both Houses were up about four; the crowd of coaches and mob on foot not the least abated; it was so great that the King's coach, with his Majesty in it, upon his return from the House was a full hour in Palace Yard. Lord Bute, to avoid the like treatment he had met in going, returned in a hackney chair, but the mob discovered him, followed him, broke the glasses of the chair, and, in short, by threats and menaces, put him very reasonably in great fear; if they had once overturned the chair, he might very soon have been demolished. Your Grace, perhaps, thinks I am writing from Dublin, but I am in London, the capital of the world, renowned for arts and sciences, bull dogs and fighting cocks. The inside of the Houses of Parliament resembled rather more a civilised people. The addresses of both Houses were unanimous*; nothing said in the House of Peers

* The speech being framed with the view of giving as little offence as possible to Mr. Pitt and his party, warmly praised the gallantry of the army and navy, "by whose exertions, next to the assistance" of Almighty God, "the enemy" had been brought to accept of terms which the King "hoped would give perfect satisfaction." "The Ducs of Choiseul and Praslin seemed greatly struck with this use of the word enemy, and the Duc de Choiseul particularly, said that they themselves had cautiously avoided using that term with regard to the English for at least these six months past." — (*Duke of Bedford to Lord Egremont*, Dec. 2. MSS.)

but by Egremont and Weymouth, who moved and seconded: and, it is said, Weymouth did remarkably well. After Lord Carysfort had moved, and Lord Charles Spencer seconded, in our house, a crazy Mr. Nicholson Calvert said a little and abused the Peace, but his abuse was received in the coldest manner. 1762.

Beckford then very faintly animadverted upon part of the preliminaries, for which Charles Townshend very smartly reprehended him as not combining the whole of it together; he was very short, and ended in saying the present time was improper till we had them before us to be debating about them. Enough, however, appeared to show that the opposition to the Peace will be very trifling. What the Duke of Newcastle and H. R. H. and the rest of them have in store that makes them keep up their spirits, I cannot conceive; nothing can be more sanguine at the same time than our friends on the other side, for Mr. Fox told me today the opposition would never divide sixty; and he would show me what my friend the Duke of Newcastle's interest was without the Court. They have changed their measure about resigning, and that is all stopped. Lord Orford is to have the parks.* Many people think the mob which I have

* The appointment seems to have been made with the view of gaining his uncle Horace Walpole. It perfectly failed, as may be seen in the amusing correspondence in "Walpole's Memoirs of George III.," vol. i. p. 217. "Lord Orford never gave the government a vote afterwards, continuing in the country as if they had given him nothing." He was the only son of the eldest son of Sir Robert Walpole, a handsome, reckless, dissolute young man, whose failings, the results of a disordered

1762. described above was an hired one for the purpose; the cry against his Lordship was certainly not universal, and the people who hooted at him attended him as he went along. Pitt remains ill in the country, and Lord Temple does not come to town till after Christmas. It is said, he too is in a dying condition. Lord Tavistock moved a message to-day in the House of Commons, to thank the Queen for her little Prince, and he and some more members wait upon her Majesty to-morrow with it. I am glad she will see them to-morrow, for his Lordship did not like being prevented of his hunting at Dunstable next Monday; though, if I guess right, he will still be hindered going by the preliminaries being laid before Parliament on that day.

I am sorry my cyder does not please the pretty palate of the Duchess of Choiseul; I will mend my hand, and send her half a hogshead of the richest which can possibly be got.

The Tories will certainly be with the Court; four or five at the most will stick by Pitt; I much doubt the extent of that gentleman's treaty with H. R. H. I believe Pitt confined himself to measures, and their thoughts are all about men.

No Granby, Waldgrave, or any German officers arrived yet. To-morrow, as I suppose, they write you from the Secretary of State's Office, there

mind, his uncle need not have recorded. Having died unmarried, his title descended to his uncle, with whom expired the male line of Sir Robert Walpole.

comes out a proclamation for the cessation of hostilities, &c. 1762.

I am, &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

East Indies.

Paris, Nov. 27. 1762.

My Lord,

I have not, as yet, found a proper opportunity to mention to the Ducs de Choiseul and Praslin the alteration proposed by the secret committee of the East India Company, to be made in the wording of the article in the definitive treaty, corresponding to the 11th article of the preliminaries.* Nor do I see any great likelihood of ever bringing them to consent to it, especially if I make use of the arguments furnished me by the secret committee themselves, as they confess that their intention of fixing the epoch from the beginning of the year 1749, is to prevent the French from claiming any acquisition of territory which they had made by conquest or otherwise before the close of that year. Should I make use of this argument, the obvious answer to it will be, that what they made by conquest, if upon the English, must have been after the commencement of the

* It had been agreed by the Preliminaries of Peace that there should be a mutual restitution by France and England of all conquests in the East Indies *from the commencement of hostilities between the English and French East India Company in* 1749.

1762. war, and consequently, to be restored as the article now stands; but if upon the natives, by conquest or by other means, the English East India Company has no right to demand the article to be changed for their advantage, especially as it was agreed to in the very words chalked out by the secret committee.* I must likewise inform your Lordship that I have very good reason to apprehend that this article relating to the East Indies has already been found fault with by the protectors of the French East India Company, who have got a very strong advocate for them in the council of state by the late admission of M. Bertin, Comptroleur General des Finances to that board; should I attempt to vary any thing in this article, it will, I fear, give them such a pretence to extend the coast of Coromandel along that of Orixa quite up to Bengal, that I fear our company will be a loser by admitting any alterations being made in the article in question. This, I know, is a point they are aiming at at present, and I think it right to inform your Lordship of it. I saw the Duc de Choiseul last night, who touched upon this point, and though he is not particularly attached to the

* It was contended by Lord Egremont in support of the views of the Company, that the object of the clause (in the preliminaries) in fixing upon the period of 1749, was to secure the renunciation of the cessions of territory made to Dupleix, which had occasioned the war. — (*Letter to the Duke of Bedford, Dec.* 23. 1762.) Some of these cessions and conquests might be regarded as the cause, and others as the result, of the hostilities; and it was understood that the French had long been dispossessed of the territory in question. — (*Letter from the Chairman of the Company, Nov.* 9.)

interests of that company, yet I fear there may be reasons of state which may oblige him to be more difficult on this head than he would otherwise have been had he been left to act in this entirely according to his own opinion, which is not very favourable towards the French East India Company. I shall with impatience expect ulterior orders from your Lordship for my conduct in this. 1762.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

EARL OF EGREMONT TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

December 10. 1762.

My Lord,

Yesterday being the day fixed for the consideration of the parliamentary articles of peace in both Houses of Parliament, it is with the highest satisfaction that I now transmit to your Grace the inclosed resolutions for addresses to the King which were after very long and full debates agreed upon by the two Houses: in that of the Lords without any division, and in that of the Commons by 319 to 65. It is unnecessary to add anything to the dutiful and warm expressions contained in these papers, which your Grace will communicate in the usual manner at the place where you reside as the best means of proving to all the world the stability and firmness of his Majesty's government, and the loyalty and zeal of his faithful people.

1762. I would not delay giving your Grace the earliest account of the event of the debates yesterday in Parliament, but being confined to my house with the gout, I have not yet been able to receive his Majesty's commands in consequence of your dispatches by Padmore.

I am, &c.

EGREMONT.

House of Commons, Jovis, 9° die Dec^ris^, 1762 : —

The House proceeded to the consideration of the preliminary articles of peace, and the question being put, that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to return to his Majesty the thanks of this House for his gracious condescension in ordering to be laid before us the preliminary articles of peace concluded between his Majesty on the one part, and their most Christian and Catholic Majesties on the other part. To assure his Majesty that we have considered them with our best attention, and although to make peace and war be his Majesty's just and undoubted prerogative, yet, knowing how agreeable it must be to his royal mind to be informed of the grateful sense his people entertain of the justice and wisdom of his measures, and of his unwearied attention to their welfare, his faithful Commons were impatient to express to his Majesty their approbation of the advantages upon which his Majesty hath concluded preliminary articles of peace, and to lay before his Majesty the hearty applause of a faithful, affectionate, and thankful people.

That while we admire his Majesty's prudence in availing himself of the successes with which Divine Providence hath blessed his arms, whereby his Majesty hath preserved such solid, and in all human probability, such permanent

advantages for this nation, we are no less sensibly affected with that humane disposition which induced his Majesty to put an end to a long, bloody and expensive war. 1762.

That we will take the earliest opportunity to examine into the state of the public revenues, in order to establish the best economy for the future, so wisely recommended by his Majesty, and so necessary to maintain the kingdom of Great Britain in that great and respectable situation in which his Majesty's fortitude and wisdom have now placed us.

That we are convinced that posterity, from their own experience, will hereafter agree with us in esteeming that peace to be no less honourable than profitable, by which there will be ceded to Great Britain such an addition of territory, attended with so great an extension of our own command.

That we therefore beg leave humbly to lay before his Majesty the strongest sentiments of gratitude, and to assure his Majesty that it shall be our study to improve that confidence of the people in his Majesty which his Majesty hath already so very deservedly acquired from his conduct in the present most important conjuncture.

The House divided.

Yeas - - -	- 319
Noes - - -	- 65

So it was ordered in the affirmative, and a committee appointed to draw up an address pursuant to the said resolution.

Ordered, that the said resolution, together with the numbers of the division, be printed in the votes.

1762.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. JAMES HAYES * TO MR. NEVILLE.

Friday morning, past 1 o'clock,
December 10. 1762.

I am just got home from the House of Commons, and though tired to death with a very bad debate, except the part Mr. Pitt took in it, who is always great, and, in some parts of his speech upon this occasion, as great as ever he was in his life. Partly standing and partly sitting, he spoke three hours and twenty minutes: he commended you for the article concerning Canada; in all the other articles, I think he condemned the preliminaries, insisting that better terms were offered last year, though our circumstances then were not so good as now: for against the distress of Portugal, he set Martinico, the Havanna, some successes by our army in Germany, and the King of Prussia, who is, he thinks, by this peace used most scandalously ill. Nobody beside him spoke a word against the preliminaries worth remembering; and, in my poor judgment, nobody said so much and so well for the peace as Mr. Stanley, to whom Mr. Pitt made the highest compliments imaginable. It is late and I am sleepy; I will therefore say no more in this, than that I was happy, as much, I can assure you, on your account as any other, in being in a majority of 319 against 65. I can't conclude without adding this; that I think I have in no day for two months past heard less said

* Mr. Hayes, of Holyport, Wiltshire, and afterwards a Berkshire, M.P. for Downton in Welsh judge.

against the peace than this day.* In the House of Lords, which was up about 10 o'clock, there was no division. The Commons address of thanks and approbation is very strong. I heartily congratulate you on this strong parliamentary sanction. 1762.

I am, &c.

JAMES HAYES.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

St. James's Place, Monday, Dec. 13. 1762.

I wrote to you from Calcraft's late on Thursday night as soon as the House was up, which letter I hope Monsieur de Mello has delivered to you by this time. At the same hour, I again wrote to you on Friday night as soon as I came from the House of Commons, and proposed sending my letter by a messenger, who, I was given to understand, was to set out for Paris that night; but he was gone before my letter could reach the Secretary of State's office. Our numbers upon the second division on Friday were 227 to 63. Nothing very particular in the debate worth writing you. There was no impertinence towards your Grace in either House, except a little, very guarded, from Sir George Savile, late on Friday night, for which I abused him damnably. It was upon the unfitness of your being the negociator after your strong declarations for peace at any

* A graphical account of this debate is given by Horace Walpole.—*Memoirs of George III.*, vol. i. p. 222.

1762. rate. Upon the whole, our peace has passed through both houses, as it ought to do, triumphantly: as the opposers of it deserve, ignominiously and disgracefully for them; and it is followed by the certain consequence of such conduct,—disunion amongst this miserable opposition themselves, who are separating already to their several counties. His Royal Highness is gone to Windsor for a fortnight; Lord Temple returns to Stow to-day; the Duke of Devonshire goes to Bath on Wednesday; our poor old friend the Duke of Newcastle, I believe, does not know where to go; and Lord Hardwicke is trying to go to the President's Place already, as is said. Lord Granville is declining so fast, he can't last many weeks. Charles Townshend, though he has resigned Secretary at War, says he shall support the Court, and won't be long before he has what he wants, I imagine: and the young Whigs, as these silly hot boys are called, are all that are left with old Tommy Townshend and Henry Legge for dry nurses, to support this formidable opposition in Parliament. As for the House of Lords, Lord Bute's speech, which even the Duke of Cumberland owns to be one of the finest he ever heard in his life, will tend as much as any thing to keep opposition quiet there, as people will find he is able to defend himself. That ability will enliven others, and, perhaps as much as any thing, contributed to bring out that great and spirited defence of the peace which came from the Chief Justice.

Now this great affair is over in Parliament, I suppose, and the world expects there will be many removals, and they certainly deserve to be made examples of. I hope no military men may be turned out; but I would clear away in the civil employments. Your Grace shall have such intelligence as I can pick up from time to time; perhaps there may be some to-day. I am going to Court with our address of the House of Commons, and will not seal my letter till my return. 1762.

4 *o'Clock Monday afternoon.* — I found Fox at Court, with whom I have had an hour's conversation. Nothing final is determined; but I have reason to believe there will be a general *déroute*, from the Duke of Grafton's Lieutenancy of the county of Suffolk to the underlings in the Custom-house; and I think, if military men are excepted, as I trust they will be, the measure entirely right. I hope your Grace will be of my opinion.*

I am just going to dinner at Monsieur Nivernois's, who lives here in a most magnificent style. This is the third invitation I have had from him, though the first I have been able to accept.

I have got you six dozen, all that was to be had, of the richest cider I ever tasted in my life: it has been three years in bottle. It goes to Dover to-morrow.

I am, &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

* See p. 188. infrà.

1762.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

Paris, December 14. 1762.

My Lord,

I was honoured late last night with your Lordship's letter of the 10th instant, inclosing the resolutions of both Houses of Parliament, for addresses to be presented to his Majesty on the subject of the preliminary articles which had been laid before them. The duty and loyalty to the King expressed in these resolutions give me inexpressible satisfaction, as I am convinced that nothing can give his Majesty more real pleasure than seeing his parliament and people thoroughly convinced of the happiness they enjoy under his auspicious government, and sensible of the advantages that will accrue to the nation through his Majesty's moderation in giving peace to his enemies in the midst of victories, and his paternal affection to his people in putting an end to a bloody and expensive war.

By my absence from England prevented from contributing my mite as a peer of parliament in this dutiful address to the throne, give me leave, through your Lordship's channel, to lay myself at his Majesty's feet, with the most ardent wishes that he may long live to enjoy that real satisfaction so worthy a sovereign, of having given to so many nations the blessings of peace.

BEDFORD.

1762.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

Paris, December 24. 1762.

My Lord,

In pursuance of his Majesty's orders contained in your Lordship's letter of the 6th instant, inclosing the projet of the definitive treaty, which I caused to be forthwith copied and sent to respective ministers of France and Spain, I met at the Duc de Praslin's at Versailles, on Tuesday last, the above ministers at a conference which they had appointed for that evening, and to which M. de Mello had been invited.

The conversation actually begun on the difficulties which occurred to the admitting Portugal as a contracting party in the treaty, on account of M. de Mello's insisting on alternating, which France absolutely refused, and that, as the Duc de Choiseul told us, after having been solemnly debated before the King in council the Sunday preceding. But as I have fully set forth in my letter of yesterday's date *, everything that passed on that head, I shall now proceed to the arguments made use of by the

* The previous treaty made by England with Portugal, viz. that of 1703, was made on separate instruments by the minister of each court, and the reason for signing in that manner was specified in the last article, it being "vitandi controversiæ causâ qua est de loci prærogativa inter coronas Britannicam et Lusitanicam." The Duke of Bedford had yielded the point on the understanding that his concession was not to be made a precedent. The Duc de Choiseul, on the other hand, said with warmth, that the King of France would not alternate with Portugal, whatever might be the consequence.—(*Duke of Bedford to Lord Egremont, Dec. 3. MS.*)

1762. French and Spanish ministers on the subject matter of the treaty itself, and on the several articles objected to by them.

They urged very strongly, that there ought to be as little deviation as possible in the formation of the definitive treaty from the preliminary articles, the spirit of which was to be adhered to strictly, and no new matter to be introduced which was not perfectly consonant to it, and even that to be done with great precaution. As I had in general been instructed by your Lordship, that the preliminary articles themselves had undergone so thorough an examination, and that so little remained to be done towards the confection of the definitive treaty, I could not pretend to controvert this assertion, and I therefore contented myself by saying that I hoped it would not be found, in going through the several articles, that my Court had departed from that maxim, except in such cases where the inaccuracy in penning the preliminaries made it necessary, in order to prevent future altercations, or that things which might be of mutual convenience as preventive of future disputes, might have been omitted, occasioned by the shortness of time in which the preliminary articles were finally settled, which was but one entire day from morning to night, on the 1st of November last.

Your Lordship will see by the observations I herewith inclose, the several objections made by the French ministers to particular parts of the projet, which I shall follow for the sake of clearness

in the order in which they are placed, though by the vivacity of the conversation, there was not at all times in the course of that evening, the same order observed in the discourse, as I shall in stating it, and this was in part occasioned by the Duc de Choiseul being obliged to attend the King his master at 6, and M. Grimaldi leaving us in order to return to Paris at 8 o'clock. 1762.

Your Lordship will observe that the preamble is objected to by the French ministers, as well with regard to the diction, as to the titles made use of relative to our respective masters.*

The diction, though copied almost exactly from the preamble of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (which was drawn up by one of their own plenipotentiaries, M. du Theil), appears to them so bombast and affected, and so unlike the simplicity which has obtained through this whole negotiation, and is besides, they say, so liable to *turlupinades*, as was the fate of the former, that they wish to have it more plain and unaffected. The style used of King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and the not qualifying the French king King of France and Navarre, but only as his most Christian Majesty, is likewise peremptorily refused to be accepted, and though I produced the treaty of Aix, printed at London by authority, and delivered to the members of both Houses of Parliament, in which the same style is verbatim observed; this did not satisfy these ministers who caused the treaty

* This point was subsequently provided for by a separate declaration. See infrà, p. 198.

1762. itself, signed by the Earl of Sandwich and Sir Thomas Robinson (now Lord Grantham), and the French and Dutch plenipotentiaries, to be searched out and put into my hands, and upon examining it I found that his late Majesty was styled in that only *Roi de la Grande Bretagne*, without any mention of France, and the French King *Roi de France et de Navarre:* as this was one of the original treaties, and not a copy which might have been falsified, it can be accounted for in no other way but that the English and French *Exemplaires* or counterparts are not similar in this particular.

Towards the end of this first article, they object to the word *avant* preceding the words *depuis le commencement de la guerre qui vient de finir.* They say in support of this, that before the commencement of this last war, there were no disputes depending between the two nations about which it will be necessary to have a general oblivion or *oubli.* Whether any thing is meant by this criticism, more than to reduce the treaty to an exact standard of purity of expression, I cannot take upon me to determine; but I think it right to mention to your Lordship, as a matter of suspicion only, that the leaving out this word may be intended to preclude England from availing herself in any future discussion about the legality of the prizes made before the declaration of war, of the general oblivion which the article is now worded might warrant.

The second article recapitulating several treaties

to be renewed and renewing in general all treaties which subsisted before the war between the contracting parties, though not particularly specified, occasioned a very long debate; for, as I am particularly directed in my instructions to insist on the renewal of the treaty of commerce of Utrecht, I thought it absolutely necessary to explain to the French ministers that my Court did insist that the treaty of commerce of Utrecht had been virtually, though perhaps not nominally renewed by the last treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and that it had been claimed as such by England; and at last, after much altercation, ceded to by France, in the interval betwixt the two last wars. As I had been much concerned in this dispute, whilst I was Secretary of State to his late Majesty, and during the administrations of Le Marquis de Puiseulx, and the Comte de Maurepas, and of M. Rouille, who succeeded the latter in the department of the Marine, I judged it to be for his Majesty's service, and consistent with that candour I have ever observed, to inform them, that this treaty was considered by my Court to be included by the words "*d'Utrecht de* 1713," as well as by the general words, "*ainsi que tous les Traités en général qui subsistaient avant la guerre.*" The existence, or non-existence of this treaty before the breaking out of the last war, caused some dispute; but on my producing to them the paper signed by the French commissioners, the $\frac{28\text{th of April,}}{9\text{th of May,}}$ 1714, which may 1762.

1762. be seen in the 3rd volume of the "British Merchant," page 375; and assuring them that it had been agreed to by the French ministers, during the time of my being Secretary of State, the Duc de Choiseul agreed to the existence of it before the war; but the Duc de Praslin very cautiously declined giving me any satisfaction on that head. The letters which passed between the late Earl of Albemarle, Sir Joseph Yorke, and myself, relating to this affair, are now in your Lordship's office; and should you think it worth your while to see them, they will be easily found.

The Duc de Praslin objected to these words in the 4th article, viz., after the words, la couronne de France, *ou ses sujets quelconques* *, which that minister thinks will be subjecting the property, that any of the Canadians may have acquired, either from the crown of France, as *droit de péage*, or by purchase from the savage inhabitants; it was in vain for me to assure him, that his Majesty had no intention of invading the private property of his new subjects; and that the sovereignty over the country and its inhabitants was all that was intended by this article. He still insisted that there was something equivocal in these words, which he desired might be omitted.

I endeavoured to the utmost of my power to bring the French ministers to consent to the leaving out the words "*jusques à la rivière Iber-*

* This relates to the cession of the French American colonies, which was made to include all rights that the King and the crown of France, *or his subjects*, had over the above-mentioned countries, isles, &c. See infrà, p. 192. 196.

ville et de la par une ligne tirée au milieu de cette rivière et des lacs Maurepas et Pontchartrain;"* but this they would in no sort consent to, and though I showed them that by the express words of the article they could possess to the left or to the east side of the Mississippi nothing but the town of New Orleans and the island on which it was situated, yet they persisted in refusing to come into this, as being new matter, the river Iberville and the lakes being fixed as the boundary betwixt the two nations, according to the map which they had sent over, and which, as they assert, had been accepted by us as a certain guide to ascertain a fixed and unequivocal boundary. By this map they say there is no land below the island on which New Orleans stands towards the sea, which is formed by the Mississippi on one side, the river Iberville and the lakes on another, and by the sea itself on the third; they even go so far as to assert that should there be a morsel of land on the other side the Iberville and the lakes, that cannot belong to England, whose boundary is absolutely fixed towards the westward by them; and though I showed them that the specific words of the 6th article of the Preliminaries excluded France from the possession of everything on the continent of North America to the left of the Mississippi, except the town of New Orleans and the isle on which it is situated, they would not hear reason on this, but persisted in maintaining their opinion by the worst

1762.

* These words are in the 7th article of the Treaty.

1762. arguments imaginable, and concluded with insisting that no new matter should be introduced in this article. It is remarkable that the Marquis of Grimaldi took a great part in this dispute against me, which he has never before done in points solely French, which, I own, increases my suspicion that the report I have heard that France intended to cede New Orleans, &c. to Spain has some foundation. As the navigation through the Iberville and the lakes was never mentioned by them, nor have they indeed any occasion for it, I thought it better to say nothing to them about it.

The second article*, relating to the East Indies as drawn up in the projet, is absolutely rejected by these ministers as containing not only new matter, but even changing an epoch which they understand well enough to be disadvantageous to them. The Duc de Praslin having told me that he is well informed that by throwing back the epoch to the beginning of the year 1749, instead of to the term of the commencement of hostilities betwixt the two companies, they shall be excluded from some advantageous establishments they had obtained by purchase during that interval. The extension of Bengal, which is only a part of the Subah of Bengal's territory, to the whole subahship is loudly complained of here, and our company is even taxed with having acted disingenuously in this particular. The acknowledging Mahomet Alli Khan for lawful Nabob of the Carnatic, and Salabat Sing for lawful

* This forms the 11th article of the Treaty. The Letters in p. 164. 184. 193., infrà, show how much anxiety it cost the Duke.

Subah of Deccan, they not only regard as improper to come into this treaty, on account of its being new matter of which they are entirely uninformed, but likewise on the impropriety of two great European princes deciding through the channel of two trading companies the lawful sovereignty of two Asiatic princes. The article in the preliminaries having been accepted in the very words drawn up by the secret committee of our East India Company makes it still more difficult to obtain any material alteration, which I own to your Lordship I despair of accomplishing; upon my mentioning to these ministers the comptoirs on the island of Sumatra mentioned in the letter from the chairman of the secret committee to Mr. Wood to have been either sold or given to the Dutch by Comte d'Estaing they profess that they have never heard one word about it, and that the Comte d'Estaing has never mentioned it to them nor accounted for any money received for them. I must beg the favour of your Lordship to inform me whether these places should be specifically mentioned in the treaty. 1762.

As I hope there is no doubt of my being informed by your Lordship before I can possibly receive an answer to this dispatch of the report made by the engineer his Majesty has sent to Dunkirk to inspect the *lunette*, the 13th Article A. or B. shall be inserted in the treaty, as the case shall require.*

* See Duke of Bedford's Letter to Lord Egremont, infrà, p. 194.

1762. As I fear it will be impossible that the Definitive Treaty can be signed before the 1st of January, the epoch which was to commence on that day must necessarily be postponed to a longer distance, should all the evacuations not be completed before the signing the treaty; but the Duc de Choiseul assures me he believes they will.

With regard to the Spanish points of the treaty, your Lordship will find in the enclosed copy of a paper I have received from the Marquis de Grimaldi, some remarks which that ambassador has made upon the 17th*, 19th, 23d, and 24th articles, which I have taken *ad referendum*, according to my instructions, and promised him to transmit to your Lordship for his Majesty's orders thereon. His proposal for the underlined addition to the 17th article will, I imagine, meet with no difficulty, as the sovereignty of the territory of the country of Honduras is not disputed with his Majesty.

The ambassador's second remark, viz. that after the restitution of the island of Cuba, no English ships should be sent thither, though restrained from serving any other purpose than that of transporting the persons and effects of his Majesty's subjects during the eighteen months allowed them for that end, is, I find, now adopted by France in respect to their islands likewise.† But I have

* This article engages for the demolition, by England, of her forts in the Honduras.

† The 17th article. The object of the Spaniards was to guard against the illicit trade between England and Cuba, which certainly seemed likely to derive great encouragement from the shipping transactions re-

avoided giving either of the ministers the least hopes that his Majesty will desist from his demands on this head: I should humbly imagine the King can have no objection to the ambassador's third remark for ascertaining the cessation of hostilities by land as well as sea, provided the 25th article of the preliminaries has not sufficiently done it already. But that may certainly be done in a much shorter method than that suggested by the Spanish ambassador. I hoped I had convinced his Excellency that his fourth remark upon the first part of the 24th article was too trifling to be sent to England, but as he has not omitted it, I cannot.* His last remark with regard to the artillery and ammunition being omitted in the restitution of Cuba, your Lordship will observe is likewise demanded by the French in regard to their islands; and M. de Mello thinks the mention of the artillery necessary with respect to Portugal, as it has been reported the Spanish had sent into Spain several pieces of cannon which they had taken from the Portuguese. Your Lordship will, I hope, agree with me in thinking those objections no otherwise essential than as they may possibly retard a little while longer the completion of the great work in question. 1762.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

quisite for the removal of the effects of British subjects from the island. See infrà.

* This clause provides for the transmission of the orders to be sent to the different places which were to be restored or ceded under the treaty.

1763.

M. DE PINTO TO MR. NEVILLE.

Paris, Janvier 20. 1763.

Monsieur,

J'ai extrait les dates des époques des concessions faites à la compagnie de France pour vous éviter la peine de le faire vous-même. Quant aux conditions signées par les deux compagnies en 1754 vous les trouverez dans le livre ci-joint à la page 130; les réflexions annexés peuvent instruire mais sont suspectes.

Je serais charmé d'être presenté à son Excellence mi Lord Duc, et avoir honneur de lui faire ma cour.

Je suis, &c.

De Pinto.*

* The information with which M. de Pinto furnished the Duke, consisted chiefly of extracts from the papers of the celebrated Dupleix, who after having ruled the Carnatic with absolute sway was living in abject poverty at Paris, by which it appeared that territories of the annual value of 70,000*l.* had been ceded to the French East India Company on the 1st of July, 1749 (or about a fortnight before the commencement of hostilities), on such terms as left no doubt of the connection between the cession and the hostilities. These territories, of which the Company had long been dispossessed, would of course have been restored to it under the words of the treaty. Such a result was obviously a gross injustice on the English company, and the scruples of the Duke to press their case further being at once removed, he renewed his application to the Duc de Choiseul for the alteration of the epoch. Finding the French ministers obstinate in their refusal, he frankly told them that he would return home in twelve hours, and lay the whole affair before parliament unless he gained his point. The opinion they entertained of his probity and honour, as well as their conviction that "he never would be the instrument of chicanery and bad faith" (Letter to Lord Egremont, 11th January, 1763), satisfied them that this was no idle threat, and they gave way, but with great reluctance. See 193. infrà, *and Letter from David Hume to Sir George Colebrooke*, 22d October, 1767. The revenues thus saved to the Company are said now to amount to half a million.

1763.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

St. James's Place, February 3. 1763.

My dear Lord,

My parliamentary history of this winter, which I thought when I parted from your Grace would be very voluminous, is likely to be very short, and without any entertainment. We have now sat near three weeks since the holydays, and the Opposition has produced only one mad speech from a Mr. Nicholson Calvert *, which was meant as a personal invective against Lord Bute; but which was treated, as it deserved, with universal contempt and silence. A motion was also made this week by Rose Fuller, and seconded by Lord Strange, to abolish the service in the church upon the 30th of January for the future; but the House being of opinion that it was better to let that matter rest as it does than to stir in it at all, they acquiesced, and we had no division upon it. The public business is going on in the Committee of Supply: we are providing for the future establishment of the navy. The army will, I suppose, come on next week. And if your Grace sends us your definitive treaty, as those who should know best expect you will very shortly, the Parliament may be up by Easter. There does not, indeed, seem to be any kind of materials in this Opposition to obstruct or

* Of Hunsdon, in Hertfordshire, member for Tewkesbury. He was an independent and opulent country gentleman. His indignation against the government was usually expressed in terms too extravagant to produce much effect. He died without issue in 1793.

1763. delay business. They have made another attempt to get Mr. Pitt to put himself at their head; and they despatched the best man amongst them, the Duke of Grafton, a second time to Hayes, to offer him *carte blanche*, but he rejected their offer, and will have nothing to do with them. We have rumours every day of questions which are to be moved, but we have no motions. One in particular, which has been much talked of, is concerning the removal of persons out of employment lately. A very difficult matter for abler men than these to handle in Parliament, unless they will avow their intention of leaving no prerogative whatever in the crown. These turned-out gentlemen are surprised that all the world are not as angry at their removal as themselves, whereas, the truth is, nobody cares a farthing about them. Parliament is not the proper place, nor can it by law interfere, unless in the manner of doing it there should appear any illegal exertion of the prerogative or other breach of the constitution, which is in nobody's power to show. As to the justice of this measure, which may appear violent at a distance, give me leave, my Lord, to trouble you with a few words upon it. The Commissioners of all the Boards inferior and subordinate to the Treasury, such as Customs, Excise, Salt Duties, Taxes, &c. &c. had possessed themselves with a notion that Lord Bute could not maintain his ground, and that they should soon return under their old master. In consequence of this idea, they very foolishly and unjustifiably neglected not

only even that civility which the First Lord of the Treasury had a right to expect from them, and they had been long enough used to pay, but also, in their official acts, demurred in their obedience to the treasury orders. This was insufferable; and no man can, with justice, blame any person in that high office for enforcing obedience to his orders. Such as continued refractory, therefore, have been removed; and so absurd, cruel, and unaccountable has been the doctrine at Claremont upon this head, that, when friends and dependents of his Grace have been told, if they would only go to Lord Bute and ask their continuance of his Lordship as a favour, they should remain in their employments, they have been directed by the Duke of Newcastle not to do it. This I know to be fact in more instances than one. I can assure your Grace, also, of another fact, which is, that when some of the persons removed have been found to be real objects of compassion, even of the very Duke of Newcastle's particular friends, Sir Francis Poole's son, for one, that Lord Bute has given them places in value equal to those they were turned out of. As this affair of removals has been represented as an instance of unparalleled severity and cruelty, I think it but justice to state it truly to you, and I pawn my veracity upon what I have wrote upon it. If your Grace should hear at Paris, as it is probable from her having lived there lately, of the cruelty of Mrs. Poyntz's removal, I can assure you she is restored to her place in the Excise Office; and after a message by Lord An- 1763.

1763. cram from Lord Bute to the Duke of Cumberland. His Royal Highness sent Lord Bute word he was very much obliged to him for it. Lord Spencer's wrong head had very near ruined his mother-in-law.*

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

Paris, February 8. 1763.

My Lord,

I was in hopes to have had it in my power to despatch Mr. Neville to England to-morrow morning with the definitive treaty, but a difficulty has arisen with regard to the alternative of Portugal, which will postpone our signing till Thursday next; but though this difficulty will certainly be adjusted, and the treaty most probably signed on Thursday, I would not defer this opportunity of enabling your Lordship to inform his Majesty that the great work is brought to a happy issue, without (as I flatter myself) my having exceeded my orders in any one instance.

I am, &c. &c.

BEDFORD.

* No blame can fairly attach to the removal of any placeman who had been guilty of acts of disobedience or opposition to the administration, and that many such arts had been committed on this occasion is undeniable. How Mrs. Poyntz and other ladies who suffered the same fate, came under this imputation, is not very clear, and Mr. Rigby virtually admits that their punishment was a piece of gross injustice. Walpole adds to the details given by Rigby, and excites additional indignation. — (*Memoirs of George III.*, vol. i. p. 234.). A defence of this measure may be seen in the "Quarterly Review," vol. lxxvi. p. 266. See also p. 171. supra.

1763.

MR. FOX TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

February 9. 1763.

My dear Lord,

I have barely half-an-hour's notice that a messenger is going, which I take to congratulate your Grace on what we hear, that you have brought your great work to its perfection. The article concerning the East Indies you have wrought to the mind of our Company, which has changed upon you more than once. That of Dunkirk, which must be adhered to, is at the same time in its consequences of so little import, that I must suppose it will cause no delay. There is no other, I think, in dispute that is a condition *sine qua non*, so that I am very willing to believe, as I hear that, even whilst I am writing, the definitive treaty may be already signed. But what I chiefly congratulate your Grace upon, and do it with infinite pleasure, is that the time is come when enemies as well as friends allow, (however they continue to abuse most of the rest, and me among them,) that your Grace has acted upon principle, persevering in what you thought right, with a courage proof against every threat, provocation, obstacle, or discouragement that could be thrown out to embarrass you. This, I assure you, my Lord, is the general opinion; and though in acting you have consulted only your own conscience, it is surely pleasant to hear the most unwilling allow the merit of the great part you have acted.

1763. In my situation, you will give me leave to observe, that the business of the House of Commons grows to want this definitive treaty mightily. We are at a stand still till it comes, and it will go both rapidly and smoothly as soon as it does.

Lord Granby is arrived in perfect health and in the best disposition.

The neutrality of the Low Countries guaranteed by the King of Prussia, and Wezel, &c., ceded to him, which are agreed to; make this treaty complete and without flaw. I flatter myself, it will not be long before I see your Grace at home enjoying the honour due to you. In the mean time no man can be with more respect, &c. &c.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

Paris, February 10. 1763.

My Lord,

I have the honour of transmitting to your Lordship herewith, by Mr. Neville, the definitive treaty, which was signed this evening by the plenipotentiaries of England, France, and Spain, and acceded to directly by that of Portugal; and it is a real pleasure for me to be able to accompany it with assurances that I have made no one concession contrary to my instructions, and have in some instances succeeded greatly beyond my expectations, without making, even those which I was authorised

to do rather than risk the fate of the negotiation. 1763.
I therefore presume to hope that when your Lordship (as I must desire you to do) presents my humble congratulations to the King upon the completion of this great work of peace, his Majesty will honour my endeavours for his service and that of my country with his gracious approbation.

The preamble is reduced to that simplicity of diction which is always best in treaties, and the titles are according to usage.

Art 1st. In the first article, the word *avant** is inserted, and the addition proposed by France omitted, according to his Majesty's direction.

Art 2d. The inserting the treaty of commerce by name with this article occasioned much discussion, and the Duc de Choiseul endeavoured to justify his holding a different language upon this head from what he had held at Versailles (as I informed your Lordship in my letter of the 23d December†), by affirming the declaration of the French commissaries mentioned to him in the conference at Versailles had never been ratified; the arguments on both sides were, therefore, warmly repeated; and I was at last forced to declare that without the specific nomination of this treaty I would not sign any treaty at all.

Art 3d. The estimate of the expenses for French prisoners in India will be sent to the

* "Il y aura un oubli général de tout ce qui pu être fait ou commis avant ou depuis le commencement de la guerre qui vient de fini. Art. 1.

† See p. 177., suprà.

1763. contrôleur-général. I told the French ministers the general account on that head was preparing in England, as it was not doubted it was here. The Duc de Choiseul said this estimate would take up time, but that it should be prepared and communicated as soon as possible.

Art 4th. As your Lordship is pleased to say (and with truth) that the words *ou ses sujets quelconques* are of little or no consequence, and only proposed in conformity to the treaty of Utrecht, this is but a small sacrifice to the importunity of the French ministers upon this head*; and as they were determined not to stipulate, by an express article in the treaty, the payment of the money due to the Canadians, I have, agreeable to my instructions, accepted of a declaration in the French king's name to that effect, which I hope will answer the purpose. †

Art. 5th. The addition proposed by the French ministers to this article is rejected, according to the King's order.

* See p. 178., suprà.

† This relates to the payment of the bills given by the French authorities in Canada for articles furnished to the French troops in the colony. They amounted to a considerable sum, and the ministers for a long time strenuously opposed all proposals for their liquidation. They insisted, and not without truth, that the greatest frauds had been practised concerning these bills. Some demands had been paid over and over again, while the purposes for which they were charged had never been performed; that M. Pigon, the inspecteur, was actually in confinement, in order that he might be examined on the matter, his conduct at the head of the financial department having contributed more than any other circumstance to the loss of Canada. — (*Letter to Lord Egremont, Dec.* 15.)

1763.

Art. 7th. This article is left according to the King's pleasure, as it stands in the preliminaries; the 6th article of which is copied and inserted here accordingly.

Art. 8th. The restrictions to prevent the contraband trade added to this article were, as your Lordship foresaw they would be, absolutely insisted upon by the Spanish and French ministers; and it was with difficulty they would consent to our sending ships * at all after they should be in possession of the islands in question, as such communication is contrary to the law of America, which they urged to be of greater weight in this case than our act of navigation: however, as these restrictions are quite consistent with my instructions, I flatter myself they will meet with his Majesty's approbation.

Art. 11th. We have carried this material article in its fullest extent. The epochs are changed, and fixed to the beginning of the year 1749, which I own I despaired being ever able to attain, and indeed had his Majesty's leave through your Lordship's channel to desist from making any further mention of them, in order to remove all needless delay to the definitive treaty; besides this great point, Nattal and Tapanoully are inserted by name. Bengal is extended to the *états du Subah de Bengale*, and those limits are explained by my declaration as pointed out by the East India directors; add to

* For the removal of the effects of British subjects from the islands restored to France.

1763. this, that the Eastern princes are acknowledged, and the pretensions for satisfaction renounced (without the addition at first insisted on by France); and it clearly appears that the whole of this article has passed in the fullest extent to the desire of the East India directors themselves.

Art. 13th. It was with great reluctance that the French ministers consented to this article; and as the preliminaries declared, the King would have had no objection to the *lunette* remaining, provided it were only useful to the wholesomeness of the air and the health of the inhabitants, I flatter myself his Majesty will not disapprove of my accepting the addition to this article, as it is made for this purpose, and this purpose only.

Art. 15th. The words *contre toute attente* are omitted, and the completion of the evacuations in Germany fixed to the 15th of next month, or sooner if possible.

Art. 17th. At the end of this article the words *ces avantages*, &c. are added, agreeable to what had passed between your Lordship and the French ambassador.*

Art. 19th. The last clause of the 8th article is here transcribed *mutatis mutandis*. †

Art. 20th. The words *ou ses sujets quelconques* are omitted in conformity to the 4th article.

Art. 24th. In this article the 15th of March is

* This refers to the privileges secured for British subjects engaged in the logwood trade in the Honduras.

† The restoration of Cuba was placed on the same footing as that of the French islands in the 8th article.

again mentioned, the alteration of the phrase relating to Cuba changed as desired by Monsieur de Grimaldi, and the specifying the artillery, &c. at the end of the last clause but one, inserted at the request of Monsieur de Mello. 1763.

Art. 25th. This specific guarantee of his Majesty's states and possessions in Germany was readily agreed to by all the plenipotentiaries.

The new article relating to Germany was no longer insisted upon, and the words in the preamble, which seemed to refer to it, are left out accordingly.

After all these points were settled, a difficulty arose with regard to the alternative of Portugal, which was strongly insisted upon by Monsieur de Mello, as an affair in which the honour of the king his master was much concerned, that I found myself obliged to declare that till he was satisfied I could not sign without further orders: this occasioned much altercation; but at last we carried our point, as your Lordship will see, in the accession of Portugal.

For further particulars, I must refer your Lordship to Mr. Neville, whose activity and diligence in the negotiation I cannot sufficiently commend; and indeed, in the present situation of my health, having had the gout for a fortnight past, it was very necessary for me to have so able an assistant, in whom I could place such entire confidence. I must therefore take the liberty, through your Lordship's channel, to recommend this gentleman as

1763. highly deserving his Majesty's countenance and protection.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

Analysis of the Treaty.

Preamble.

1. Restoration of friendly relations between the contracting parties.

2. Renews the treaties enumerated.

3. Provides for the release of prisoners.

4. France gives up Nova Scotia, Canada, Cape Breton, the islands in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, to Great Britain, that Crown engaging to permit the free exercise of the Catholic religion to the Canadians, to the utmost extent that the laws of England allow; also that the Canadians may have eighteen months to sell their property and effects, and to remove from the province.

5. French subjects shall have the liberty of fishing and curing fish on a part of Newfoundland, as specified in the 13th article of the Treaty of Utrecht, which is thereby confirmed, except as regards Cape Breton and the Isles in the St. Lawrence; and the French may fish and cure in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, at the distance of three leagues of the shore, but only at the distance of fifteen leagues of Cape Breton: the fishing on the coast of Nova Scotia to remain on the footing established by previous treaties.

6. The islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon are ceded to France, as an asylum for fishermen; but no fortifications are to be constructed thereon, or any buildings except for the purpose of the fisheries, and no guard, except fifty men for police.

7. The limits of the cessions on and near the Mississippi stated.

8. Great Britain restores to France the islands Guadaloupe, Mariegalante, De la Desirade, Martinique, and

Belleisle, provisions being made for the removal of British subjects from the same. 1763.

9. France cedes Grenada and the Grenadines to England, the neutral islands to be divided, St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago remaining with England, and St. Lucia with France.

10. England restores Goree. France gives up Senegal.

11. In India, England restores to France the different establishments (comptoirs) which that crown possessed on the coasts of Coromandel, Orixa, Malabar, and in Bengal, at the commencement of the year 1749; and France gives up all her acquisitions on the side of Coromandel and Orixa, since the same period, also all her conquests in the present war, as therein mentioned.

12. France restores Minorca to England.

13. Dunkirk shall be restored to the condition prescribed by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle and former treaties. The lunette and forts which defend the entrance from the sea is to be demolished, and the salubrity of the air, as well as the health of the inhabitants shall be provided for by some other means to the satisfaction of England.

14. In Germany, France gives up all its conquests in the Electorate of Hanover, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Duchy of Brunswick, and the county of Lippe Bucksborough; the artillery to be restored, or the same weight of metal.

15. In case the stipulations contained in the preliminaries for the evacuation of the places in Germany held by British or French armies shall not have been completed by the time of the signature of the treaty, the contracting parties engage to do their utmost to carry these stipulations into effect by the 15th of March, and not furnish any succour whatever to their allies engaged in the German war.

16. Provides for the adjudication of prizes made by Great Britain in Spain, by the English Courts of Admiralty, according to the law of nations.

1763. 17. England engages to demolish her forts in the Honduras, but her subjects may continue to cut wood and build houses and stores, such as are required for that purpose.

18. Spain gives up her right to fish on the coasts of Newfoundland.

19. England engages to restore Cuba, with due provision for the removal of English property within eighteen months.

20. Spain cedes Florida, with Fort Augustin and the Bay of Pensacola, and also all the Spanish possessions in America to the east of the south coast of the Mississippi, provision being made for protection of the persons as well as for the removal of the effects of Spanish subjects, as in the article for the cession of Canada by France.

21. France and Spain give up their conquests in Portugal.

22. All archives and public documents belonging to the ceded places shall be given up, with the possession of such places, or within four months after the exchange of the ratifications.

23. All conquests by either party not specially enumerated shall be restored.

24. Epochs of the different cessions prescribed.

25. His Britannic Majesty's German dominions are included in the treaty.

26. Mutual guarantees by France and England for the due fulfilment of this treaty.

27. The ratifications are to be exchanged at Paris, within one month if possible.

Separate Articles.

1. None of the titles used in the negociations or the preamble shall be used to operate to the prejudice of either of the contracting parties, or as a precedent.

2. The circumstance of the treaty being in the French language is not to operate as a precedent.

3. The king of Portugal is recognised as one of the contracting parties to the treaty. 1763.

Declaration by the king of France that the bills or letters of change received by the Canadians in payment of articles furnished (fournitures) to the French troops shall be duly paid within a reasonable period, provided only that the bills, letters of change, which French subjects may have in their possession at the date of this declaration, be not confounded with the bills or letters of change which are in the possession of the new subjects of the British Crown.

Declaration by the British ambassador with reference to the limits of the dominions of the Subah of Bengal.

MR. NEVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, February 16. 1763.

My Lord,

I arrived in town yesterday, at 5 o'clock, and found my Lord Egremont at dinner with Mr. Grenville, from whence his Lordship instantly accompanied me to the King. His Majesty received me most graciously, and kept me a full hour and a half in his closet. He read over your Grace's despatch with great eagerness; asked me questions upon many particulars of it; and, expressing a satisfaction even greater than I could have conceived, said to Lord Egremont, "Why, my Lord, this is greater than we could have hoped for: England never signed such a peace before, nor, I believe, any other power in Europe; indeed the Duke of Bedford has done greatly." Lord Egre-

1763. mont said no prince had ever begun his reign by so glorious a war and so glorious a peace. As the King pressed me to mix in the conversation, I did it with great freedom, and told him what every one must think of your Grace's conduct who had the honour of seeing it so near as I did. That I need not repeat. But the King most cordially joined in the same sentiments with me; and I believe your Grace will receive a letter from Mr. Vernon by Lord Bute, which will prove how highly his Majesty thinks himself obliged to you. He inquired much after your health, and said every thing that was civil, nay affectionate, on that occasion. Besides the approbation he expressed upon all the national points, he was pleased with the guarantee of his electoral dominions, and particularly so with the care taken of the honour of the crown of Portugal. When his Majesty had gone through the treaty and your Grace's letter, he asked me several questions relative to the interior state of France, which gave me an opportunity of mentioning what the French king had said to your Grace upon the ratification of the preliminary articles, with which he was extremely pleased. I told him the circumstance of signing the treaty in his ambassador's house, and under his Majesty's picture, and made him laugh very much at the squabble among the plenipotentiaries about the alternative with Portugal. He seemed satisfied with the account I gave of the interior of France, and said something very obliging to me upon the occasion, respecting part of what your Grace had

so kindly written. From court I went to Lord Bute; but not finding him, left your Grace's letter, and returned to his Lordship this morning. Your Grace will easily believe I was well received there: indeed I was. His Lordship declared, with great earnestness, "No man had ever rendered so great a service to his king and country, and that there was not a man in the kingdom could have done it but the Duke of Bedford." He said he knew very well, and been much concerned at it, that at times *he had not been well with your Grace;* but he was persuaded, had you known the situation he had himself been in, that would not have happened. And indeed I have been informed from different quarters, and all good ones, that for a fortnight Lord Bute and Lord Egremont did not speak to each other. Indeed, my Lord, I find it to be the general opinion of your Grace's friends (and protest that from Lord Bute's behaviour towards me this morning I totally agree with them), that he is thoroughly sensible how much he is obliged to your Grace, and desirous of showing it to all the world. I mentioned Rice's affair to him, in which he agrees entirely with your Grace; but I find the crown lawyers do not. He said, had he been Secretary of State their opinion should never have been asked; for it was hard if the King had not power to send away any foreigner he pleased out of the kingdom; but as they have given it, the case was now difficult. Lord Bute told me the King had already given orders that I should have the usual present; but I hear as yet of nothing

1763.

1763. more. From thence I called on Mr. Rigby, where I staid till court time. At the levee the King talked to me twice, and most obligingly. He inquired very much after your Grace, and said it would have been a great misfortune had the gout postponed the signing of such a peace. I could not help telling his Majesty you had protested you would have signed with your teeth, sooner than have delayed a work you knew would be so agreeable to his Majesty. Though the King took this with seeming approbation, I feared, upon recollection, it would have been thought improper. But the very contrary has happened. I was overheard, and *mon esprit* as much admired as it would have been at Versailles, or upon the *Pont Neuf*. At court I had the compliments of all the King's servants, and all the world except Lord Mansfield. His Lordship honoured me with a bow, and that was all. To judge of the peace by my reception at the House of Commons, there will scarce be a negative to it. Wilkes owned to me, if what he had heard of it was true, *it was the damn'dest peace for the Opposition that ever was made.* Indeed, my Lord, I hope your country, as well as your King, will feel as they ought how much they owe to you. I am anxious, on reading over this letter, how trifling and unsatisfactory it is in comparison of what it should be; but Mr. Vernon's sudden departure, and my own hurry of spirits, must plead my excuse, and all private anecdotes your Grace will hear from Lady Ossory and Mr. Vernon. Your Grace will therefore excuse my adding

nothing more at present than my most respectful acknowledgments to the Duchess of Bedford, for all the favours with which her Grace honoured me, and the assurances of, &c. &c. 1763.

RICHARD NEVILLE NEVILLE.

P.S. In my post-chaise I recollected the Duc de Choiseul's farewell speech to me, and on comparing it with the Duc de Praslin's, thought I should have mentioned it to your Grace, which in fact I forgot to do. I asked him for his commands, and he wished me a good journey, and charged me not to forget his compliments to Mr. Stanley. I have given the best account I was able of the Duc de Praslin's speech, both to the King and the ministers; but of the Duc de Choiseul's I have said nothing to them.

LORD EGREMONT TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Whitehall, February 16. 1763.

My Lord,

Yesterday, in the afternoon, I was honoured with your Grace's despatch of the 10th instant, by Mr. Neville, transmitting the definitive treaty with the accession of Portugal signed the same day.

I had the pleasure of waiting upon Mr. Neville to court immediately upon his arrival, when he was received by his Majesty in the most gracious manner.

It is with great satisfaction that I am to inform your Grace that the King expressed the highest

1763. approbation of your Grace's conduct upon this very important occasion; and his Majesty was pleased to direct me to communicate to your Grace his entire satisfaction in the manner in which your Grace has so zealously and so ably exerted yourself in bringing this great and salutary work to a happy conclusion.

Allow me, my Lord, to assure your Grace of my sincere congratulations upon the success of your negotiation, which procures me the pleasure of being the channel of his Majesty's most gracious approbation of your conduct.

I am to acquaint your Grace that having by the King's order laid the treaty before such of his Majesty's servants as are consulted upon his secret affairs, it was humbly submitted to his Majesty as their unanimous opinion that the same should be ratified; and the King having given orders to that effect, I shall not fail to transmit the ratification to your Grace as soon as the proper instruments for this purpose can be perfected.

I am, &c.

EGREMONT.

LORD BUTE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, February 16. 1763.

My dear Lord,

Before I offer my own congratulations, I am, by his Majesty's immediate order, to express to your Grace the King's entire satisfaction in the great

work you have now concluded, and his Majesty's fullest approbation of your Grace's able conduct in the execution of the important trust committed to your care. The King, my Lord, bids me tell you that he will never forget the essential service you have rendered his crown on this occasion. And now, my dear Lord, suffer me to mix my joy with yours, and to assure you that I feel, on this great proof of your Grace's firmness and ability, more, much more, than I can express, and that both as a public man, and as the Duke of Bedford's most sincere and affectionate friend. This most triumphant peace, exceeding even the preliminaries, will silence faction and baffle all the arts of implacable, designing men, and your Grace will be deservedly the idol of your country, and your character held in veneration by every honest man and well-wisher to his country. 1763.

I am allowed to assure your Grace that you won't be desired to remain a minute longer than will be agreeable to yourself. Permit me, on this happy event, to offer my best compliments and most sincere congratulations to the Duchess and Lord Tavistock, and to entreat your Grace to do me the justice in regarding me as

Yours, &c.

BUTE.

1763.

MR. FOX TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

February 16. 1763.

My dear Lord,

Yesterday Mr. Neville arrived with the definitive treaty. When I went this morning to congratulate the King upon it, he spoke of your Grace's conduct and his obligation to you in the highest strain. He is extremely happy, nor did the council seem less so, when we read the treaty, and found it exceeding our expectation, and equal to our most sanguine wishes. We all agreed that the intended opposition to it must be dropped, and the approbation of it, when it shall be laid before Parliament, unanimous. Selwyn is much obliged to the Duchess for the pen that signed it, which will be looked on with veneration ages hence, for George is already taking care for its preservation. I have nothing to wish your Grace, but that you may soon get rid of your gout, which I do most heartily.

Give me leave, my Lord, to beg my best compliments to his Grace and Lord Tavistock.

I am, &c.

H. Fox.

I fancy the Parliament will rise very soon after the ratifications come. I hope, therefore, they will come speedily.

1763.

LORD GOWER TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Arlington Street, February 16. 1763.

My dear Lord,

Give me leave, with the utmost sincerity, to wish your Grace joy of having completed the great work which you so nobly undertook, and which you have so ably executed. Sure the satisfaction your Grace must feel, in having put a period to this bloody and expensive war, by so advantageous a peace for your country, will almost make you forget the unpleasing moments you have sometimes had, and the disagreeable circumstances that you have occasionally found yourself in during the progress of this affair.

Lord Bute came to me from the King to express the satisfaction he felt from what his Majesty had said to him in regard to your Grace upon this event, and immediately before we proceeded to read the treaty sat down to express his sentiments to your Grace upon the occasion, which indeed seemed to me replete with gratitude and affection. There are others who will write your Grace more full accounts of the politics of this country than I should be able to do, so that I will not take up your time unnecessarily. They have talked much of debating the definitive treaty in the two Houses of Parliament, but when the contents are known, I should imagine that design will drop. Now your labours and fatigues are over, I hope the gout will be so too very soon, and that you may have nothing

1763. to do but enjoy the Parisian jollity for three months longer, and then give yourself back to your friends here; among the first of whom I hope you will place him who is

Yours, &c.

GOWER.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

St. James's Place, February 23. 1763.

Monsieur D'Eon, the Duke de Nivernois' secretary, is to set out to-night for Paris with the ratifications of the definitive treaty, and by him I take the opportunity of writing to your Grace, and first of thanking you for your favour of the 19th, which I have just now received. I rejoice that your gout is on the mending hand: if you have the same warm weather which we have at present, you will soon be perfectly well.

Our proceedings in Parliament continue not to deserve narration. The House of Lords has not even causes before it, and has for two or three weeks past adjourned from Monday to Monday. The House of Commons has seldom more than a hundred members in it, and they have little to do; yesterday, indeed, it was full, when, upon a motion of Sir John Philips *, we were in a committee of the

* Sir John Philips, Bart., of Picton Castle, Pembrokeshire. Walpole, who was his relation, says of him, that he was a man of worse character than parts, though they were not shining. —(*Memoirs of George II.*, 1—98.) He had been a Jacobite,

whole House to consider and report to the House our opinion of the best method of inquiring into the disposition of the vast sums voted during the war. Sir John proposed a commission of accounts; which motion, after a dull debate of five hours, in which nothing personal or interested happened worth relating to you, he withdrew at the request of Sir Roger Newdigate, Cook of Middlesex, and some more of his old friends, and adopted Sir Francis Dashwood's proposal, which was agreed to; and is to appoint a select committee to inspect all accounts which are now laid before Parliament, or they shall think proper to call for. This committee is to be appointed to-day: it is intended that it shall be vested with very small powers, and that all members who come may have a right to speak, though only those named of the committee to vote, as has been the practice of select committees. Your Grace perceives this mode of inquiry can neither be dreadful nor useful, nor was it ever intended to be either.* 1763.

The army estimates are not yet brought in. Most of the Tories, and some even of the Walpolian Whigs, did not relish the large number which the Court had determined upon. Eighty-five regiments of foot, besides the cavalry, have not sat easy upon their stomachs, and some reduction to the amount of ten or twelve regiments they will be indulged

and was afterwards gained over by the Court. He died in 1764. His son was created Lord Milford, and dying without issue, in 1823, that title became extinct.

* Walpole's "Memoirs of George III.," vol. i. p. 243.

1763. with. Ireland will be principally benefited by this new plan, and their army is to remain as at the last peace, 12,000 only. We are to have a meeting of the principal people of the House of Commons to-morrow morning at Sir Francis Dashwood's, finally to fix the plan before it comes into the House.

I understand part of the plan of the army is, and which I very much approve, to make North America pay its own army. Charles Townsend kisses hands to-day for First Lord of Trade. He is to be of the Cabinet Council, and have the employment as Lord Halifax had it. Who is to go Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, or to be your Grace's successor, I cannot inform you. Lord Hertford is ready for either, and pays more court to Lord Bute than any man in England; but I believe he has yet no promise. I think they will try to get Halifax back again to Ireland: they must gild the pill to make him swallow it, and a bitter one he will find it then. Some people say Mackenzie* has a mind for Paris: he likes living abroad, and, as I am told, does not like his present employment, which is that of minister for Scotland, but his brother may not

* The Hon. James Stuart Mackenzie, brother of Lord Bute: he had been envoy extraordinary at Turin. He was appointed Lord Privy Seal for Scotland, in 1761, which he resigned in 1765, but in the following year received the appointment for life. It seems from the memoirs of his secretary, Mr. Dutens, that the labour imposed on him by Lord Bute was very severe, and obliged him to give up all society. This by no means suited a man who loved literature and ease as he did, and he withdrew entirely from politics on his brother's resignation. He was always much esteemed, notwithstanding the angry feeling that prevailed against Lord Bute and the Scotch. He died without issue, in 1800, at an advanced age.

choose to part with him. Lord Bute has assured me your Grace may depend upon your release at the time you desire it, and he will tell you your successor when the King has determined upon him. 1763.

Lord Albemarle arrived yesterday: he will have a difficult card to play, between his gratitude to his master, his aversion to the Duke of Newcastle, and his infinite obligations to the King and his minister. There is a great outcry against him by the merchants for the taxes he made them pay at the Havannah, and by the army, for the unequal distribution of prize-money. I have inquired very particularly into the latter complaint, and find it very ill-founded; and I did so with a view and intention to defend him in the House of Commons, if he should be attacked there. I hope to find, and I will search for it, that the merchants' complaint is as frivolous.* Nothing is more curious in the formation of this opposition, if it can be called one, than to hear the Duke of Cumberland's friends cursing the Duke of Newcastle for drawing their master into the scrape, and all the Duke of Newcastle's turned out friends damning the Duke of Cumberland for making them lose their places. The

* Lord Albemarle's acknowledged character for disinterestedness and honour makes this charge most improbable. His father's improvidence left him with a fortune very inadequate to the support of his rank; but, unlike many of his cotemporaries, he preserved his political, not less than his private integrity, unsullied. He served with the Duke of Cumberland at Fontenoy and Culloden, and was much esteemed by him. The laurels he gained at the Havannah had been dearly purchased, for he scarcely enjoyed a day's health afterwards, though he lived until 1782. The present Lord Albemarle is his only son.

1763. Duke of Devon and his brothers are grown sulky, and have left off coming to White's. That puts me in mind to inform your Grace of a great event, which is, that Bob retires from business at Lady-day, and the cherubim is to keep the house. Neville has touched his thousand * at the Treasury without any deductions: he is in great spirits. He dined here on Sunday with Sandwich and a parcel of catch-singers: we gave him some claret; I wish we don't give him some gout, too. Your peace grows every day in estimation, and the more the accounts of the war are looked into, the more people seem to grow ashamed of having been the dupes of such popular nonsense.

I am, &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

EARL OF BUTE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, March 3. 1763.

My Lord,

I am sorry to find that the last despatches from hence could give your Grace the least uneasiness with regard to the King of Sardinia: it was earnestly wished to try, by every method except that of protracting the final termination of peace, to put an end to the dispute so long subsisting, and by procuring his Sardinian Majesty equitable terms, to remove all occasion of a future war; but if there are no hopes of such an accom-

* The usual fee paid to the bearer of the definitive settlement of peace.

modation, the exchange of the ratifications was certainly intended to take place; but in the case of Portugal things are very different. Your Grace will learn, by the official instructions of this day, that the King's servants are all of opinion that the ratifications of all the contracting powers (of whom Portugal certainly is one) must be exchanged at the same time, nor is there a man here who thinks it safe or honourable to proceed without them.* Your Grace may depend on the King's leave to return at the time you mention. He has not yet named an ambassador, but I hope in a few days to be able to give you some information concerning it. Your glorious work, my Lord, rises every day in the opinion of mankind, in spite of all the little arts made use of to prevent it, and I thank Heaven, I begin to see the happy end of my labours. 1763.

I am, &c.

BUTE

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

(Extract.)

St. James's Place, March 3. 1763.

I suppose the young Dux † is fixed for ever in some hotel in Paris: little Gil laments his absence in tears. There is very little news or bustle of

* The stand thus made for Portugal by Lord Bute is very creditable to him, and was calculated to raise the character of England for good faith on the Continent.

† Second and last Duke of Bridgewater, afterwards so celebrated for the canal which bears his name. He died in 1803.

1763. any kind stirring here, except riots at the play-houses*, where I never go. White's goes on as usual, play there is rather more moderate, ready money being established this winter at quinze. Lord Masham † was fool enough to lose three thousand at hazard to Lord Bolingbroke the night before: I guess that was not all ready money. I saw Neville this morning: he talks of going into the country next Monday for a week or ten days, and then of returning to Paris. I hear nobody yet mentioned for your Grace's successor: Mackenzie's name is in many people's mouths, but I am apt to think without foundation.

I am, &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

Paris, March 8. 1763.

My Lord,

I did myself the honour to acknowledge in my postscript of the 4th, the receipt of your Lord-

* On the refusal of admittance at half price after the third act of the play: at Drury Lane, the benches were torn up, and the glass lustres broken and thrown upon the stage. The managers, however, gave way.

† Second Lord Masham, son of the well-known Abigail Hill, the favourite of Queen Anne. He held the lucrative place of auditor of the Exchequer. He had married the sister, and eventually heiress, of Mr. Winnington; but this did not prevent his falling into great pecuniary embarrassments, to relieve which he was obliged to sell his patrimonial estate at Oates, in Essex, to Mr. Palmer, the Duke of Bedford's agent. He died without issue in 1776, when his title expired.

ship's letter of the 1st instant*, an extract from which I immediately sent to the Duc de Praslin, and informed him that I should be ready to confer with him upon it whenever he should please to appoint me. I accordingly went to Versailles last night for that purpose, and I found his Excellency much chagrined at the dispute that had arisen on this subject betwixt your Lordship and the Duc de Nivernois. He complained that the bringing this topic into question at present had too much the appearance of the Court of England having a mind to have a pretence hung up for raising fresh troubles in that part of the world whenever they should judge it for their interest so to do, especially as by the words of the 13th article of the treaty of Utrecht†, renewed in the present treaty, France could solely found her claim of fishing and curing on a specified part of the island of Newfoundland, to which they did not pretend to have an exclusive right; and, consequently, there seemed to be no occasion at this time of laying claim to a right which was not even disputed by them. But that if 1763.

* This letter states that the Duc de Nivernois had set up a claim to the *exclusive* fishery on part of the coast of Newfoundland, and the English ministry were naturally anxious to learn whether this claim was sanctioned by his government.

† By this article, Placentia, and all other parts of Newfoundland occupied by the French, were in full sovereignty ceded to Great Britain, the French, however, retaining a licence to come and go during the fishery season only, but not to erect any fortifications or any buildings except stages made of wood and huts necessary for keeping and drying fish, and to fish on the coast, and to dry and cure them on that part of Newfoundland which stretches from Cape Bonavista round the north of the island, and descending to Cape Riche.

1763. England meant by this to make them understand that the fishery and *secherie* granted by the above treaties (without which France never could have consented to any terms of peace) should be rendered illusory by the English taking possession of every part of that coast which he did not, he declared to me, believe to be our intention, he foresaw that the consequences must be fatal. He said all that they expected was the fair exertion of that right of fishery, &c. granted to them by treaty; and he therefore flattered himself that what they had enjoyed uninterrupted for so many years after the treaty of Utrecht they should still enjoy under the sanction of the said treaty. He declared that he had too good an opinion of the candour and good faith of the English nation, to imagine that, considering the vast increase of fishery they had now obtained, they would attempt to pre-occupy the whole coast from Cape Bonavista to Pointe Riche, merely to render illusory a right which was given to the French nation by solemn treaty.* He rather seemed inclined to think that

* The English ministers received this explanation of the Duc de Choiseul as *an express disavowal of any pretension on the part* of the French government to an exclusive right of fishing and curing on the coast of Newfoundland, and the Duke of Bedford was instructed to convey to the French Court his Majesty's satisfaction that the answer was so candid and unequivocal.—(*Lord Egremont to the Duke of Bedford*, May 6.) The Duc de Nivernois at the same time altered his language on the subject, and the matter was regarded on both sides as virtually settled. The Duc de Choiseul, indeed, afterwards expressed some apprehension that the English would *pre-occupy* the coast from Cape Bonavista to Pointe Riche, and entirely monopolise the fisheries, as, in fact, was earnestly desired in England; but "*he did not even hint at any pretence that the French nation could have*

this was brought on the tapis by persons ill in- 1763.
tentioned to the peace, and by them suggested as a point of great consequence to his Majesty's ministers, more than with any real intention of rendering their right acquired by treaty an illusory one. He added, that as the season for the de-

for an exclusive right of fishery or secherie on any part of Newfoundland." — (*Duke of Bedford to Lord Egremont*, May 15.)

The subsequent history of these fisheries reflects little credit on English diplomacy.

The peace of 1783 left the right of France to fish and cure on the coast of Newfoundland the same as it had been under the Treaties of Utrecht and Paris, though more productive fishing grounds were substituted for those granted by the latter treaty.

Thus the two countries continued to fish for many years on the coast of Newfoundland without raising a dispute on the construction of the treaties, by which their respective rights were determined. The fisheries of both enjoyed great prosperity. At length, in common with other maritime pursuits, the French fisheries perished during the revolutionary war, and they were only brought again into existence by the Treaty of Paris, of 1814. No sooner had they been re-established, than the French government put forward a claim of exclusive right, which they insisted had always been acquiesced in by England. No treaties beyond those above mentioned could be cited in support of the claim, and the only documentary evidence was a declaration issued by England in 1792, for the purpose of preventing disputes between the fishermen of the two countries, which contained a passage capable of a construction favourable to the views of the French. The letters in this volume either escaped the notice of Lord Castlereagh, or he attached no importance to them, for France gained her point, and has enjoyed the fisheries in question exclusively of England ever since. It is curious to observe how different was the course pursued by the Government of the United States on the same occasion. Sharing, as they did, the rights accorded to England before the Declaration of Independence, they would not listen to the arguments of France, and having announced that a squadron would be sent to prevent any interference with the American ships engaged in the fishery, the claim was not further pressed. The United States fishermen have consequently never been molested by the French authorities, and they annually obtain vast sums from these shores, the territory of which is indisputably British, but from the waters of which no British subject is allowed to draw a fish.—(See Mr. Macgregor's *Progress of America*, p. 635.)

1763. parture of their fishermen was now approaching, that they should send them out, relying on the faith of treaties and of the good intelligence which he firmly believed was now thoroughly established betwixt the two nations.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

St. James's Place, March 10. 1763.

I should have wrote to your Grace by last Monday's post, and enclosed you the state of the army as we voted it on Friday in the committee of supply, but what with the report on the army, and the opening the budget on Monday, the House was not up till past ten o'clock at night. Mr. Pitt came to the House on Friday, and approved of the plan of the army, wishing it had been still more numerous. His taking that part, which he did against the strongest remonstrances of Lord Temple and his friends, prevented any opposition to the plan in the enclosed paper. In the course of what he said, which was that day rather gentle and pacific, he called the peace hollow, and not likely to be permanent: he afterwards called it an armed truce for ten years. He went out of his way to commend the Highlanders, upon whose behaviour he lavished great encomiums. On Monday he came to the House again, and fell most unmercifully upon

George Grenville, who made rather a tedious digression from the Chancellor of the Exchequer's motion, in the doing which he treated Pitt's ideas of economy and national expense pretty severely. The other replied, and belaboured him with ridicule, and wit, and misrepresentation, beyond what I ever heard him do before. He served the whole body of the Tories in the same manner, pitying them for their understandings and their acquiescence; advising them not to be too much in a hurry *to have done with him*, as he called it, for he should certainly have them again, and very soon; that he had never given up his opinion to them, though they had theirs frequently to him, which he told them would be the way, too, that he should have them again; assuring them that all he was doing was for their good, though they were not yet sensible of it. George Grenville got up very warm to reply to him, when the other with the most contemptuous look and manner that I ever saw, rose from his seat, made the chairman a low bow, and walked slowly out of the House. In short, so much ingenuity and insolence I never saw or heard before. This was a prelude to a great coalition dinner at the Duke of Devon's the next day, where Pitt and Temple met the Dukes of Newcastle, Grafton, and Portland, Marquis of Rockingham, Lord Hardwicke, and, I believe, Legge, who are now coalesced against the administration. Their countenances are quite cleared up since they have put themselves under Pitt's management. The Duke of Devon comes to

1763.

1763. White's again, and is all good humour, and all their friends affect violent spirits.

This morning our select committee met for the first time. I was down there at ten o'clock. The first branch of expense that we have taken under our consideration is that of the ordnance; that will last us of itself, I believe, till the end of the session, when probably the best report we could make would be that which Soame Jenyns, who is one of us, has already prepared for us; viz. "Resolved, that this committee has spent *its* time as foolishly as the nation has done *its* money."

The money borrowed this year is three millions and a half at four per cent. There are to be two lotteries, one in May, one in November—thirty-five thousand pounds each profit to the government. The new tax to pay the interest of the money borrowed is four pounds a tun upon all wines imported, except French wines, which is eight pounds a tun; and an additional tax upon cider given for seventy thousand pounds; but that is recommitted, because the gentlemen who serve for the cider counties did not like the mode of the taxation, and will assist, against the next supply day, in granting the tax under a method they will propose themselves in raising it. *

I am, &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

* This tax met with very severe opposition in both Houses, and is said to be the first instance of the Lords dividing upon a money bill.

1763.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

Paris, March 11. 1763.

Communicates the exchange of the ratifications with the different powers on the preceding evening.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

Paris, March 13. 1763.

My Lord,

In obedience to the King's commands signified to me in your Lordship's letter of the 17th instant, I, at my audience yesterday, made his Majesty's compliments to the Christian King on the completion of the peace, and expressed, in the best manner I was able, his Majesty's personal regard and friendship for this Monarch, and his firm resolution to execute with the utmost punctuality and good faith every part of the treaty, the King having nothing more at heart than to preserve and perpetuate the most perfect harmony with his most Christian Majesty. This King's answer was perfectly correspondent to those sentiments, and to what he had expressed to me upon signing the preliminary articles; viz. that he hoped the peace would not only last his life, but that of the King of England, who was so much younger than himself, and that he was determined, on his part, to promote it to the utmost of his power.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

1763.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

(Extract.)

March 23. 1763.

Sir Francis Dashwood has shown himself very incapable of the place of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and his blunders and want of knowledge have been one great cause of the delay and obstruction to this part of the treasury business.*

RICHARD RIGBY.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

(Extract.)

St. James's Place, March 31. 1763.

On Monday last there was a debate in the House of Lords upon the second reading of the bill for granting the new duties upon wine and cider, and the House sat till ten o'clock at night. Many young lords spoke yesterday for the first or second time, but I think nothing extraordinary except Lord Dartmouth, who did remarkably well. Our old acquaintance, Lord Denbigh, I think, made a speech of more wit and good sense mixed together with it than almost I ever heard: such a one as if Lord Chesterfield had made it, would have been immortalised. He silenced Lord Temple completely. We have had nothing in the House of Commons since we sent this money bill to the Lords, nor do I apprehend we shall any more this

* See an account of Sir F. Dashwood in Walpole's "Memoirs of George III.," vol. i. p. 171.

session, which is not to last above a fortnight or three weeks longer. 1763.

I am, &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

EARL OF BUTE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, April 2. 1763.

My dear Lord,

I am now going to trouble your Grace for the last time, in all probability, on politics, as I shall be out of office and a private man before I can be honoured with any return: the subject I am going to touch forces me to write about myself much more than I wished to do, and for this reason I hope you will excuse it. To enter, therefore, into matters, I take the liberty of observing to your Grace, that when the Duke of Newcastle went out, and I found myself under a necessity to accept my present situation, I did it with the utmost reluctance; and nothing but the King's safety and independency could have made me acquiesce in a way of life so opposite to every feeling; nor did I kiss the King's hand till I had received his solemn promise to be permitted to go out when peace was once attained. Thanks to kind Providence and your Grace's abilities, that day is now come, and well it is so, for, independent of all other private considerations, the state of my health is such, and any constant application to business is declared to be so fatal to me, that I find myself under the unpleasant

1763. necessity of putting my much-loved sovereign in mind of his promise. I have done so, and after scenes that I can never forget, his tenderness for me has got the better of his partiality to my poor endeavours to serve him, and he approves my determination. Since this I have often talked with his Majesty on the subject of a new administration, and he is come to the final resolution of putting the Treasury into Mr. Grenville's hands, as the only person in the House of Commons in whom he can confide so great a trust; Mr. Fox having taken the King's word when he first entered on the management of his affairs, that, the peace made, he might be permitted to go to the House of Lords. Three things the King is determined to abide by, and to make the basis of his future administration as they have been of his present.

1st. Never upon any account to suffer those ministers of the late reign who have attempted to fetter and enslave him ever to come into his service while he lives to hold the sceptre.

2dly. To collect every other force, and above all, that of your Grace and Mr. Fox to his councils and support.

3dly. To show all proper countenance to the country gentlemen acting on Whig principles, and on those principles only supporting his government.

It is proposed to offer Mr. Townshend the Admiralty, Lord Granby, Ireland; and now, my Lord, I am desired by his Majesty, who has directed the

contents of this letter, earnestly to press your Grace to preside at his councils, the King intending to give (in that case) the Privy Seal to Lord Gower. And now, my dear Lord, need I make use of many arguments to prevail on the Duke of Bedford to assist his young sovereign with his weight and name,—that sovereign, who has not a wish but what terminates in this country's happiness, and who, since he mounted the throne, has shown ever the highest regard and predilection for the Duke of Bedford; who, from the state of my health, is now to form a new government that will have to struggle, not in my opinion with a very formidable opposition, but with titles, and estates, and names like a *Pitt* and *Legge*, that impose on an ignorant populace, who are every hour declaring this great peace, this salvation of an almost ruined country, *dishonourable*, *inadequate*, *unwise*, *hollow*, &c., and have endeavoured with the utmost malice to arraign all honest men who had any hand in it—shall such men give this prince the law, and will the Duke of Bedford look tamely on when loudly called on to defend his King and country, and the cause of truth and honour? I hope not; I hope even your Grace will not be pleased to find me expatiate so long on such a point; but I hope to be excused both from the importance of it, and the anxiety with which I have orders to mention it. I know Lord Egremont has orders to send your Grace permission to come over, and I am particularly directed to insinuate that the sooner your conveniency permits 1763.

1763. it in the present case the better. Having thus obeyed my orders, I beg leave to add a few words more concerning myself. Far be it from me to think that I am in any shape necessary to the King's government, or that my place cannot be even much better supplied by any other arrangement: but I do not stop here. I am firmly of opinion that my retirement will remove the only unpopular part of government, *pascitur in vivis livor, post fata quiescat;* and I once gone, it will be very hard for me to believe that the Duke of Newcastle will, with Lord Hardwicke, &c. continue a violent or peevish opposition in order to make Lord Temple, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Legge, ministers of this country,—the sole purpose he now declares he has in view. I fondly hope, therefore, I shall, in my retiring, do my royal master much more service than I could have performed by continuing in office. But this letter exceeds all bounds; I therefore end it with desiring your Grace to accept my hearty thanks for all the instances I have received of your friendship, and to believe that, on the word of an honest man, I have never once ceased since his Majesty's accession to treat your Grace's interest as my own, and to do every thing in my power to convince you of the high regard with which I am, and ever shall be, &c. &c.

BUTE.*

* This letter has already appeared in Wiffin's "Memoirs of the House of Russell" (vol. ii. p. 522.). It betrays some of the weak points in Lord Bute's character. No one can doubt that his engagement with the King was a mere theatrical dis-

1763.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE EARL OF BUTE.

Paris, April 7. 1763.

My dear Lord,

Some hours after I made up my letter to the Earl of Egremont, explaining that I had wrote to his Lordship the 30th of last month, desiring leave to be absent from Paris for a short space, as intended for a tour into the provinces, and not to England, where I had no thoughts of returning before the end of my embassy, I found myself honoured with your Lordship's letter of the 2nd instant, by Long the messenger; and it gave me real concern to find your Lordship should think yourself under a necessity of quitting the King's

play, such as he often practised without deceiving any one but himself. The Duc de Nivernois, an impartial witness, entertained no doubt that the wish to secure his power was his main object in making the peace, and the Duc's intimacy with Count de Viry, whom Lord Bute really trusted, gives great weight to his testimony. He may at times have declared (says Walpole) that when the peace was made, he would quit his post, but few had heard the declaration, and fewer believed it.—(*Memoirs of George III.*, vol. i. p. 255.) A more probable cause of his retirement is, that he could bear up no longer against the responsibility and labour inseparable from the post of premier—a serious trial to powerful minds, even under favourable circumstances, and absolutely overwhelming to a minister of a timid, irresolute disposition, distrusting and distrusted by his colleagues, and never having before held a place of business. He was an accomplished, and not unamiable man, but utterly destitute of the necessary qualifications for high office in a popular government. It hardly required the outcry against the cider duty to frighten him into resignation. His doom was already sealed, and "unpopular without guilt, fearing without danger, presumptuous without resolution, and proud without being respectable or respected," (*Lord Chesterfield's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 447.) he precipitately abandoned, in the vigour of his age, a position which it had cost him years of anxious assiduity and intrigue to reach.

1763. service, for the reasons you mention in your letter, and more particularly so at this time, when I see his Majesty endeavouring to form an administration composed almost entirely of the same persons as the last, though placed in different employments, which must consequently be inevitably weaker than the last, by the loss of your Lordship out of it, and of Mr. Fox in the House of Commons, and by the sole addition of the Earl of Shelburne, whose weight (though he was not in place) was known to be thrown into the scale of administration. With regard to myself, I was determined, even had your Lordship continued minister (whose friendship to me I had not the least reason to doubt, having been so repeatedly assured of it by you), to have quitted entirely the King's service on my return to England from my mission, during which, in the course of very difficult negotiations, I had received so many marks of ill-will, as more than once endangered the success of them. Judge, then, my Lord, whether, after the loss of so good a friend as your Lordship in the King's council, and the consequential advancement of so many of those who wish me ill, I should not deserve to be treated as a madman, should I take the place of President of the Council in an administration, which I know cannot last, and which, consequently, must throw the King our master a few months hence into greater difficulties than he is in at present. For God's sake persuade his Majesty to widen the bottom of administration, and if he has a mind to keep those out

of his cabinet who have behaved to him with the least respect, let the Dukes of Newcastle, Devonshire, and Grafton, Earl Hardwicke, &c., be called again into his Majesty's service. I cannot be suspected of partiality to all those lords, but I think the future happiness of his Majesty's reign depends so much on the measures he now takes, that I think myself obliged, as an honest man, and as a faithful and (if I may say it) an affectionate servant of his Majesty, to write my mind thus freely to your Lordship. 1763.

Employments to satisfy these great Lords you have enough — Master of the Horse, President of the Council, Privy Seal, embassy to France; and, indeed, my dear Lord, what I now write of my resolution not to be in employment, is not out of vanity; but I am determined to serve the King in Parliament, and as a private man, with the same zeal and affection as when in his service. As I am very sure that my coming to England at present can be of no utility, and as my presence here may possibly be of some, I hope his Majesty will excuse my going to England before the end of my embassy, which, I trust, will be by the beginning of June, my own private affairs, very much deranged in the Isle of Ely requiring my presence during the whole summer season.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

P. S. Upon considering that part of your Lordship's letter which relates to my immediate

1763. setting out for England, as insinuating his Majesty's desire of my doing so, I will endeavour, if possible, to depart the day after to-morrow, and am this instant going to Versailles to inform the ministers of it.

MR. GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

(Extract.) Admiralty Office, May 19. 1763.

I cannot close this letter without expressing the joy that I feel in common with every good subject at the happy and well-timed event of yesterday, when the King was attended with an address upon the peace from the most numerous and most considerable body of the merchants of London that ever appeared on such an occasion. The number that signed it were upwards of 900. The effect it has had at this conjuncture for the support of the honour and quiet of the King's government, and for discouraging the spirit that has been raised against it, has more than answered the most sanguine expectations; and I trust that your Grace at your return hither, will find this country much more sensible than it has yet seemed to be, of the advantages and blessings derived to them from the peace, and how much they owe to your Grace's care and abilities in bringing that salutary measure to an honourable and happy conclusion.

I am, &c.

GEORGE GRENVILLE.

LORD ELCHO* TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD. 1763.

Paris, May 19. 1763.

My Lord Duke,

Your Grace will, I hope, forgive the liberty I take in writing this letter, but it is such a satisfaction to me to be able to assure your Grace, that since the 16th day of April, 1746, I have never seen the Pretender, nor offended my native country in thought, word, or deed, since that period, that I could not possibly prevent myself from laying this certain truth before your Grace, as the representative of the King of Great Britain in this country. I have been banished now, my Lord, seventeen years, very justly I confess: if that time should be doubled, I should continue to conduct myself in the same way, because my abhorrence of Jacobitry is founded upon sad experience, not prejudice; but if his Majesty will allow me to go to Britain to live with my relations, all the assurances I am capable of giving for my good behaviour I am ready to give. Allow me, my Lord, to recommend myself to your Grace's protection.

I am, &c.

ELCHO.

* Eldest son of the fourth Earl of Wemyss. He had been a pupil of the Chevalier Ramsay. Having engaged in the rebellion of 1745, he was appointed colonel of the Pretender's first troop of Horse Guards, and served with them at Culloden. It is on his authority that Dr. King charges the Pretender with gross cowardice in that battle. He certainly was never on good terms with the prince afterwards. His efforts to procure a revocation of his attainder failed, though made repeatedly, and with much earnestness, to different ambassadors. He died at Paris, unmarried, in 1787, having generally resided at Paris during his exile.

1763.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE DUC DE PRASLIN.

Paris, ce 1re Juin, 1763.

Monsieur,

M. Boileau, le directeur de la manufacture royale de Seve, m'a appórté hier par ordre de V. E. un magnifique service de porcelaine, lequel (a ce qu'il m'assure) est destiné pour Madame de Bedford de la part de S. Majte très chretienne. Nous ne pouvons, à la vérité exprimer en de termes assez fortes toute notre sensibilité et reconnoissance envers S. Majte pour toutes les marques de sa bienviellance que nous avons éprouvés pendant notre séjour en France, et nous supplions V. E. très instamment de nous mettre aux pieds de S. Majte avec nos plus humbles remercimens pour cette nouvelle marque de sa bonté envers nous.

J'ai l'honneur, &c.

BEDFORD.

THE DUC DE PRASLIN TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

A Versailles, le 2 Juin, 1763.

Monsieur,

Je suis très aisé que Madame la Duchesse de Bedford ait été contente du service de porcelaine que le Sieur Boileau lui a porté de la part du Roy. J'ai exécuté cet ordre avec grand plaisir, puisqu'il est une preuve de la satisfaction qu'a eu sa Majesté des sentimens que vous avez faits connoitre pendant votre séjour dans ce pais-ci. C'est avec une peine

infinie que je vois approcher le moment de votre départ. Le Roi sera ici Mardi, et je pourrai, Monsieur, vous procurer votre audience de congé si vous persistez à vouloir nous quitter. Cette fonction de mon ministère sera la plus peinible que j'aye encore remplie, mais j'éspère que vous voudrez bien me conserver quelque part dans votre amitié, et que vous êtes bien persuadé de la haute estime que je conserve pour votre personne, et de la considération distinguée avec lequelle, 1763.

J'ai l'honneur, &c.

LE DUC DE PRASLIN.

LE DUC DE PRASLIN TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

A Versailles, le 7 Juin, 1763.

Monsieur,

J'ai l'honneur d'envoyer a votre Ex^ce^ ses lettres de recréance, et c'est la fonction de mon ministère que je remplis avec le plus de regret, puisque c'est la dernière dont j'aurai occasion de m'acquitter avec elle.

Comme vous avez vu dans leur source, Monsieur, les sentimens pleins d'amitié du Roy, pour le Roi votre maître, et son désir sincère d'affermir l'union si heureusement rétablie entre les deux couronnes, nous ne doutons pas que vous ne lui en rendies un fidèle compte. Quant a vous personnellement, Monsieur, les marques constantes de satisfaction que le Roi vous a données de votre conduite, le déplaisir avec lequel toute la cour vous soit partir,

1763. et l'estime général que vous avez acquise, vous disent assez comment on pense à votre égard. Puissiez vous jouir, Monsieur, du bonheur le plus parfait et le plus durable dans votre patrie. C'est le vœu et le sentiment de l'amitié véritable que vous m'avez inspirée en avec laquelle,

J'ai l'honneur, &c.

LE DUC DE PRASLIN.

LOUIS XV. TO THE KING, ON THE DUKE OF BEDFORD'S DEPARTURE.

A Versailles, le 7 Juin, 1763.

Monsieur mon frère,

J'ai recu la lettre par laquelle vous m'informez de la permission que vous avez accordée au Duc de Bedford, votre ambassadeur extraordinaire, de retourner en Angleterre. J'aurois fort désiré pouvoir le retirer plus long-tems près de moi ; mais puisque cela ne peut s'accorder avec ces affaires, je ne veux pas au moins le laisser partir sans vous rendre témoignage de la bonne foy, du zèle et de l'habileté avec lesquels il a conduit à sa perfection l'ouvrage important et salutaire que vous aviez confié à ses soins. Comme il a vu dans sa source, toute la pureté de mes sentimens pour vous, je ne doute pas qu'il ne vous en rendu un fidèle compte, ainsi que du désir sincère que j'ai de cultiver et affermer l'union si heureusement rétablie entre nous et nos sujets, et de vous convaincre de plus en

plus de la parfaite amitié, et de l'affection inaltérable avec lesquelles, 1763.

Je suis, &c.

Votre bon frère,

LOUIS.

MARQUIS OF TAVISTOCK TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Paris, July 4. 1763.

My dearest Father,

Though the post is just going out, I determined to write you a line to inform you of my motions since I left you, especially as they tell me the post does not go out again till the 9th. . The king reviewed his household on the 30th, in spite of all the storms that fell that day; and I arrived two hours too late, though I came in three days from London without once travelling in the night. We are overcome with English, though they are of a much more supportable sort than those we were infested with while you was here. The Duchesses of Richmond and Ancaster both dress well, and the Duchess of Hamilton, with all her ill health, is universally admired. I delivered my mother's letters according to her order. Madame de la Valliere was at Versailles, and Madame Geoffrin, upon opening hers, cried out, I had given her a wrong letter, for it begun, *Ma belle Duchesse:* I was so conscious how capable I was of making such a mistake, that I thought myself guilty till the cover set me right: it was in folding up the letters that it happened,

1763. and Madame Geoffrin has taken upon her to set all right. Last night was played off the part of the fire-works which failed the time before from the rain that fell: they were pretty, but the *coup d'œil* of all the people assembled was much finer. I went with Madame de Guerchy to the Comtesse Bentheim's; which latter was very civil, and desired to be remembered to my father. Grimaldi, besides kissing me on both sides at meeting, redoubled his embraces upon my telling him you all desired to be remembered to him. I shall execute immediately my mother's commissions, and am, my dearest father,

Most dutifully yours,

F. T.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

St. James's Place,
Monday, August 15. 1763, 4 o'clock.

My dear Lord,

Calcraft is this moment returned from Hayes, having spent three hours this morning with Mr. Pitt. It is impossible upon paper to send your Grace an accurate account of all that passed, and I will meet you at Woburn on Wednesday night, if you return that day, on purpose to repeat as much of it as I can; at present it must suffice to say, that he declines coming into employment without his associates at the dinners. He talked of your Grace with every mark of respect; but the plain truth is, he is so engaged with the others, that he cannot stir without them. Mr. Pitt has given Calcraft

the most solemn assurances that the whole visit and transaction shall be a secret on his part, and Calcraft having returned him the like, entreats your Grace to secrecy.* 1763.

I am, &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

The following is enclosed in a letter from Lord Sandwich of the 18th, but it is not preserved among the other papers. It appears to be from the King to Lord Sandwich: —

"Nothing can be abler nor more concise than the Duke of Bedford's letter: I agree entirely with him in every part of the weighty subjects now before me, and don't doubt but firmness, joined with temper, will be the means of gaining all our material points, and that the not too vigorously pressing them on those of less moment will be the means of preserving this glorious peace, in which Europe in general is so much concerned."

* Calcraft had reason to desire this transaction to remain a secret; for he, with a weakness not uncommon in subordinate negotiators, seems to have highly coloured the favourable sentiments which the Duke and Mr. Pitt mutually entertained towards each other. When the King subsequently disclosed the fact of Mr. Pitt having had no intention to give the Duke a leading part in the government, his Grace charged Mr. Calcraft with having deceived him; and in the absence of any satisfactory explanation, his friendly relations with that gentleman ceased, though he continued on the same terms with Mr. Pitt. See Walpole's "Memoirs of George III.," vol. i. p. 204.; and see also "Chatham Correspondence," vol. ii. p. 247.

1763. EARL OF SANDWICH * TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Admiralty, September 5. 1763.

My Lord,

I waited on his Majesty yesterday, and made him very happy with the account I gave him of what had passed between your Grace and me; and I could easily perceive that the support he now found himself assured of from a person of your consequence in this country gave him a fresh degree of assurance, that those who had stood by him when his honour was attacked, would be able to carry on his measures with ease to him and credit to themselves. I repeated to him most of what I had said to your Grace by his order, but in one point he set me right, and told me I had not expressed myself strong enough: I had said that Mr. Pitt had insisted that the Duke of Bedford should have no *efficient* office in his service, but his words were, that he *must have no office at all* at this time; perhaps some years hence he might be admitted to an employment of rank about the court, but that now no countenance must be shown to those who had been concerned in so disgraceful a measure as the peace.

Though, perhaps, I am going beyond my commission, when I say that the King solicits any person to take an employment in his service, I cannot, however, avoid telling your Grace, that he

* The sudden death of Lord Egremont, from an apoplectic attack, on the 21st of August, had stopped Lord Sandwich's embassy to Spain, and made him Secretary of State.

expressed the warmest wishes that you might be prevailed on to accept an office in the present arrangement, which would give such weight to the administration at their setting out, that it would at once convince the world of their strength, and be an earnest of the figure which I flatter myself they will hereafter make; if your Grace accepted an employment and did not hold it a month, it would even in that light have the utmost good consequences, would be beyond measure grateful to the King, and creditable to the new system, and after the first effects were over, would give them an opportunity of looking about and filling the office with more propriety than they will be able to do if they are to fill it with the precipitation that the present state of affairs seems to render necessary. 1763.

I doubt whether it will be possible to make the arrangements so soon as Wednesday, but I should think I may possibly kiss hands that day. I believe I need not add what happiness it would give me to have the honour of your Grace's company in the same situation at that time, both as a public and private man. I think I shall be believed when I say it would be the happiest moment of my life.

Your Grace shall know, by another messenger to-morrow, whether any thing is to be done on Wednesday, and will then be so good as to tell me when we may expect to see you in town, and what day will be most agreeable to you to honour me with your company to dinner; but if you can prevail upon yourself to sacrifice a little of your

1763. ease to assist more materially at this important crisis, I hope to see you to-morrow, which I may venture to assure you will be the most comfortable sight to his Majesty and his administration, and to every person who wishes well to the dignity of the crown, and the real happiness of the kingdom.

I am, &c.

SANDWICH.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. NEVILLE.*

Woburn Abbey, September 5. 1763.

Dear Sir,

Though it is so long since I have heard from you, nor do not very well know where to direct to you, whether to Compiegne or Paris, yet I am resolved of letting this letter run the risk of finding you or not, to let you know that I hope affairs in this country, after a week's agitation, seem at present to take a right turn, and give me some hopes of once more seeing a firm and stable administration.

You must have heard that Mr. Pitt has been sent for, and his friends, the discontented great lords, have followed him to court, but their demands were so exorbitant, I may say insolent, that the King, after having found what ill use they would have made of his moderation, has determined to do without them, and I doubt not his conduct will be approved by the most con-

* From Lord Braybroke's collection.

siderable, and indeed all the considerate part of the nation. Their demands were, not only that the peace should be disavowed, but that all, in either House of Parliament, who had voted, or appeared in favour of it, should be discarded the King's service.* You may easily imagine that I and my friends were to be made examples of; and Mr. Pitt did not scruple to tell the King, that events might possibly arise, in consequence of the peace, which might make it *criminal* in me to have signed it, and that I never more should be trusted in an efficient place in the King's service, but that it might be hereafter possible to give me a place of honour, but of no trust. The gentleman is much mistaken in me, in his imagination of my desiring an employment. I believe I may venture to say, I might have my choice, but I have declined accepting any, though I am determined to stand by the King and his administration to the utmost of my power. Lord Bute is going to retire entirely. Lord Sandwich will, I believe, be Secretary of State, and the Duke of Leeds President of the Council. It is hardly conceivable how they would have the insolence to propose to the King to turn out, by a general sweep, every one that had faithfully stood by him, and to take in all those who 1763.

* The best accounts of this negotiation with Mr. Pitt are given in Walpole's "Memoirs of George III.," vol. i. p. 286—292., and Adolphus's "History," vol. i. p. 127. There is every reason to believe that the Duke of Bedford had formed an exaggerated impression of the unreasonableness of Mr. Pitt's demands. See Introduction.

1763. had acted the direct contrary part. I have no time for more, but to congratulate you on the turn things have took. You will be surprised to hear in France that I advised the King to send for Mr. Pitt, but it is true, hoping and having some reason to believe that he would have been moderate, as well with regard to the peace, as to the persons he would have expected to have brought in with him. It was far otherwise; but I do not repent of the counsel I gave, as I am convinced by showing themselves, the party will be weakened, and the King's hands strengthened. I put this under cover to the Duc de Praslin, as I think that the safest way to prevent its being opened in France. I hope to see you soon in England; and I must beg you to bring all the papers with you, as I may have occasion to make use of some of them, should I be attacked by the faction in Parliament.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

MR. GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Downing Street, Sept. 5. 1763.

My Lord,

It was with infinite pleasure that I received from Lord Sandwich the account of your Grace's resolution to give every support in your power to the system which the King has been pleased to form for carrying on his government in the present difficult conjuncture: a resolution worthy your

Grace's character, and the attachment you have always shown to his Majesty and the constitution of this kingdom. The situation which this country was left in at the happy close of the late ruinous war, and the spirit of licence and disorder which has attended it, and which has since been so industriously augmented, demand the strictest union in all who wish to put a stop to an evil that threatens equally the King and his people. This consideration, enforced by your Grace's example and supported by your authority and abilities, will, I doubt not, open the eyes of many, in an hour of so much public danger, not only to the honour and lawful rights of the crown, but to the peace and happiness of the kingdom. I am confident that the King feels very sensibly this instance of your Grace's zeal and affection, at a time when the exertion of them is so necessary for the good of the whole. Allow me, however, my Lord, to express my earnest wishes that you could be prevailed upon to give your name, as well as your weight and influence, to the support of the King's government at the head of his councils. The great and solid advantages that must be derived from it in every light are so evident, that it is unnecessary to enforce them. They will, I hope, be sufficient to excuse me for expressing my sentiments upon them to your Grace in this manner, as they weigh so strongly with me, that though I think it extremely desirable to fill up that great office, if possible, without a moment's delay, yet I 1763.

1763. cannot advise any further step to be taken in it, whilst I have any hopes of its being filled up so honourably and so beneficially to the King's service; and I own I cannot help flattering myself, that upon mature consideration your Grace may still comply with it. It is impossible for me to put an end to this letter, without begging leave to return my sincerest acknowledgments and thanks for the favourable opinion which I had the pleasure of hearing from Lord Sandwich, that your Grace entertained of me, and the obliging terms in which you expressed it. I shall always be ambitious to deserve it, and happy to maintain it, and consequently extremely desirous to obey your commands to the utmost of my power. What Lord Sandwich mentioned to me about Mr. Vernon may, I hope, be brought to bear in some shape that may be agreeable to him. I understood, with the utmost satisfaction, from his Lordship, that your Grace would come to town as soon as ever these arrangements have taken place, and I must hope it will be *before* they have taken place; but whenever it shall be, I beg your Grace will allow me to have the honour of waiting upon you, as soon after as it is convenient to you, at Bedford House, that I may receive your advice in person, and assure you that

I am, &c.

GEORGE GRENVILLE.

1763.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. GRENVILLE.

Woburn Abbey, Sept. 6. 1763.

Sir,

I was favoured yesterday evening with your letter by the Admiralty messenger, who at the same time brought me one from the Earl of Sandwich. I write to his Lordship, that I wholly refer myself to the King's pleasure, determined to act in every thing as he shall please to prescribe. I am much obliged to you, Sir, for the sentiments you expressed towards me, and I can assure you that no one will more zealously support than myself, whether in or out of employment, the administration upon the plan his Majesty is now forming it. Give me leave to return you my thanks for your good intentions to Mr. Vernon, and to assure you that

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE EARL OF SANDWICH.

Woburn Abbey, Sept. 12. 1763.

My dear Lord,

Though the same reasons still subsist which induced me, when I saw you last at the Abbey, to decline entering again into public business, to which the indolence of my disposition likewise inclines me, yet my duty to the King, and my desire to support the administration he is now

1763. forming, will oblige me to give up, not only my opinion, but my inclination, to his will; and, therefore, if his Majesty shall still continue to think that my coming at present into his service may be of essential use to the strengthening the administration, I shall most willingly acquiesce to it, in whatever employment he shall judge proper.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

MR. NEVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

(Extract.) Paris, Sept. 12. 1763.

My Lord,

I was the first person that told the French ministers Mr. Pitt had been with the King. They were both struck with it. The Duc de Choiseul in his manner said, *Je ne crois pas pourtant qu'il nous fasse la guerre;* and the Duc de Praslin said dryly, "*Peut-être qu'il y aura moins de désagrémens de traiter avec lui qu'avec Milord Egremont, qui avoit peur de son ombre même.* This alludes to the alarms about Dunkirk which the Duc de Praslin would always explain by the dread of the House of Commons. My language was what I thought at that time was right to hold, that Mr. Pitt's appointment could never alter an established system; that I believed in his heart he was glad the system was established; and that though I suspected he would not be brought to approve the peace, the most he would do would be to call it a bad one,

and say, since it was made it must be observed, and that he would endeavour to make the best of a bad bargain. But when they hear of his late extravagant behaviour, they will certainly be more jealous of him than ever, and look upon his coming into power again as a dangerous symptom to the peace itself. 1763.

DR. MARKHAM TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Westminster, Sept. 14. 1763.

My Lord,

Your Grace was so kind as to tell me some years ago, that whenever I applied for a crown preferment, you would be ready to give your assistance. I have been eight years a king's chaplain, and almost eleven master of Westminster school, without having received any mark of the royal favour.

The frequent headaches and disorders in my stomach, which I have been long subject to, make my attendance on the school very painful to me, and I am disabled from giving that attention to my health which I ought in duty to my family.

The Deanery of Bristol is now vacant: the value of it, I am told, is under five hundred pounds a year. As I must quit a much larger income for it, I should not think it a great object, if the consideration of my health did not make it so.

I have laid my pretensions before Mr. Grenville, and though I have had a very civil answer, I am

1763. afraid they will not have much efficiency if not aided by some support.

I know no patronage which can be more honourable to me than your Grace's; I am sure there is none to which I would wish more to owe an obligation. If I am thought worthy of this testimony of your good opinion, I shall be very happy; at all events I hope you will believe me to be, with the truest sentiments of duty and regard, &c.

WILLIAM MARKHAM.*

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO DR. MARKHAM.

St. James's, Sept. 16. 1763.

Sir,

I this morning mentioned to his Majesty your request of the Deanery of Bristol, and your desire of quitting Westminster School on account of your frequent headaches and the pains in your stomach. The King received my application in your favour with great goodness; and though the Deanery of Bristol has been promised to Dr. Barton a fortnight ago, yet I have his Majesty's leave to assure you that he will not be unmindful of my recommendation whenever a proper opportunity shall offer.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

* He was at that time head master of Westminster School, where he acquired a great character. The friendship of Lord Mansfield afterwards obtained for him the appointment of preceptor to the Prince of Wales, and he thus reached the Archbishopric of York, which he held for near thirty years, having died in 1807.

1763.

MR. GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

(Extract.)

Downing Street, Sept. 23. 1763.

Before I close my letter, I will beg leave to mention again a question of far greater moment, and which will soon require a final determination, I mean the meeting of the parliament, which, when I had last the honour of talking with your Grace about it, you seemed to think should, if possible, be about the time, in the month of November. I have since considered it thoroughly, and am still of the same opinion not to defer the opening of the session beyond the time at which it has for some years usually met. I have spoken upon this subject to Lord Sandwich and Lord Halifax, who both agree in the same sentiments: if your Grace approves of this measure, and should think it right to carry into execution, it will be necessary, I believe, to have a council on the 4th or 5th of next month, in order to issue the proclamation, and to give forty days' notice for the sitting of the parliament to do business on the 15th or 17th of November. If I am to judge of the dispositions of men by what I can collect of them here, every thing seems to go on very favourably, and I flatter myself that at your Grace's return to town, the account of the public business in general will be as satisfactory to you as can be expected. I earnestly wish it for every reason, and it is not amongst the least, that the part which your Grace has so honourably

1763. taken may be crowned with the success it so well deserves.

I have the honour to be, &c.

GEORGE GRENVILLE.

EARL OF SANDWICH TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, Sept. 26. 1763.

My Lord,

Your Grace will herewith receive all the papers we now have ready for your perusal; and as I understand from Lord Gower that you propose being in town on Thursday, I shall not send any more unless I receive any thing of particular importance.

The journey to the North was, I believe, never intended, but the retiring from the King's presence and councils is an absolute condition on which this administration stands; and we are assured that that retirement will be immediately carried into execution, and that you will have Lord Bute in your neighbourhood* in a few days, as he has, according to my information, completed the purchase of Mr. Herne's estate; however, I own I am a little uneasy at the delay, as I know we have nothing whatever against us but the impression his remaining near the King makes in the world, and the real danger there is from such a formidable channel of negotiation being still open. I hope, therefore, when

* His Lordship's seat at Luton, in Bedfordshire.

your Grace comes to town the middle of the week, 1763.
that you will press this point with Mr. Grenville, who wants a little spurring in this single article, for I own I think it has already hung too long; and it seems full time for the administration to drive it, as every hour's delay weakens our cause.

I am, &c.

SANDWICH.

EARL OF SANDWICH TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

(Extract.)

Barnet, Sept. 28. 1763.

I hope nothing will prevent your being in town according to your intention on Sunday, as I think you will add weight and spirit to our measures, though I would not have you imagine, from what I now say, or what I said in my last letter, that I have any sort of suspicion of negotiation or any thing wrong; it is, as far as appears to me, totally out of the question. Lord Halifax is warm (if that can be) to a fault with regard to Lord Bute's retreat, and the other agrees as to the necessity of it, but does not seem inclined to drive it till he is convinced it will not do without it, as he imagines it will work itself, and that immediately.

Sir Windham Knatchbull is dead, which will occasion an election for the county of Kent.

I am, &c.

SANDWICH.

1763. MR. NEVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

My Lord, Fontainebleau, Oct. 26. 1763.

I cannot possibly let this messenger go to England without acquainting your Grace with an instance of the Duc de Choiseul's frankness and friendship, for which I shall honour him as long as I live. He took me aside the day the Earl of Hertford was introduced to him, and told me your Grace should not be loaded with any difficulties or unpopularity for undertaking, as we were apt to believe you would do, to soften matters in relation to Dunkirk, nor should I (of whom he was pleased to speak in the kindest manner) be reproached with leaving things to be done or discovered by others; and he immediately authorised me to send the accounts to England which this messenger carries, and which, I flatter myself, added to my last despatches by Cock, will be owned to be a tolerable winding up of your Grace's negotiation.* What

* The Duc seems to have esteemed the Duke of Bedford, whose manly and frank disposition pleased him. He had no reason to be content with the peace, and he has been charged with regarding it only as a truce which might be broken as soon as the resources of France admitted of the resumption of hostilities. On the other hand, he repeatedly insisted that it was as little his inclination as his interest, to involve the two countries in war, and certainly this was a mere pretext for his disgrace in 1770. He committed serious faults, and his policy was not successful. Still it would be difficult to point out his superior among the French statesmen of that day. M. Thiers, in a recent speech in the French Chamber, goes so far as to say that when he retired to Chanteloup, the genius of France retired with him; and it should be remembered to his honour, that at a later period, when the intrigues of the northern courts had completely duped his unworthy successors, Louis XV., in his imbecile regret, and Frederick of Prussia, in his short-sighted joy, alike exclaimed, "If Choiseul still were minister, there would have been no partition of Poland." The Duc died in May, 1785.

might possibly have urged his Excellency to this very honourable behaviour was my telling him, upon his reading to me the copy of a certain letter sent by Monsieur de Guerchy, that separate correspondences were subject to jealousies, and that besides, in the critical situation of affairs, he might possibly have laid a burden where he would be least desirous of laying one. Every thing was said therefore about that letter to Neville and not to the King's minister. Whatever was the motive, the effect was most fortunate; for people must be harder to please in England than even I think them, if they are not contented with such declarations upon almost every point that came or can come under consideration—Poland, Louisiana, Fishery, Dunkirk most certain; and I think I may add the assurances given for the payment of the just demands for the prisoners and the Canadians. 1763.

What then, my Lord, is there that can interrupt the friendship so happily established? I have taken my leave of the King and Queen, and have received every mark of regard, I might almost add friendship, that was ever showed to any one in my situation, at least every one tells me so. The King has given me his picture, finely set indeed, and has pleased to intimate to me that he should see me again with pleasure. All this does not make me vain, for I know to whom I owe it: what I am most vain of, though perhaps owing to the same cause, is the most gracious approbation of my royal Master, which he has himself deigned to signify to me in his letter of revocation. This is not wholly unmerited; for no

1763. man ever wished more to serve his king and country than myself, and I thank God I have not weakened your Grace's glorious and effectual services to both. I cannot conclude without mentioning the Earl of Hertford, who honours me with every civility and friendly attention that it is possible to show me. I leave his Excellency to-morrow at this place, as I have scarce time to prepare for my journey, being obliged to go to Versailles to take leave of the Dauphin and his family, besides so many other necessary attentions, which I fear I have left too much to crowd upon me at once. Before the meeting of parliament I shall, however, certainly pay my respects to your Grace, and renew the assurances of the inviolable regard and attachment with which I shall ever remain, &c.

RI. NEV. NEVILLE.*

* It does not appear that Mr. Neville held any public employment, or took any active part in politics after his return to England. He had previously filled the post of under secretary of state with credit, and for many years represented successively Reading and Wallingford in parliament. He was esteemed a clever, well-informed man, and Walpole, who was not disposed to find merit in a friend of the Duke of Bedford, mentions him with respect. He died in 1793. He was the only son of Mr. Aldworth, of Stanlake, a retired seat in Berkshire, where the family had resided for some generations as country gentlemen of moderate fortune. His mother being the sister of Mr. Neville Grey, of Billingbere, that fine estate, the inheritance of the Nevilles from the days of the Tudors, devolved to him during his absence from England in this negotiation. He thereupon took the name of Neville in addition to that of Aldworth. He had married a Genevese lady, by whom he left a son, who succeeded to the barony of Braybrooke, and the noble mansion of Audley End from his cousin, Lord Howard de Walden. — (See the "History of Audley End" by the present Lord Braybrooke, Mr. Neville's grandson, p. 105. 117., an elegant and pleasing work.)

1763.

'A SON EXCELLENCE LE DUC DE CHOISEUL.

'A Londres ce 20me Xbre, 1763.

Monsieur,

J'ai bien peur que Votre Excellence ne soit un peu mécontente de ce que je n'ai pas répondû plutôt à la lettre, qu'elle a bien voulue m'écrire en datte du 5me 8bre dernier, mais en vérité, Monsieur, les matières qu'elle contenoit, étoient si vastes, et d'une si grande étendue, et si étrangères à mon département actuel, que je n'osois pas hazarder une lettre, que je crus, ne seroit nullement satisfaisante à votre Excellence. Mais comme je trouve par une conversation que j'ai eue avec M. de Guerchi, qu'une plus longue silence peut m'assujettir à une réproche d'avoir si tot oublié toutes les marques que vous m'avez montre de bienveillance et d'amitié, je me suis enfin déterminé d'entreprendre de répondre à la lettre dont vous avez bien voulu m'honorer.

Vous me rendez justice, Monsieur, en croyant, qu'en rentrant dans le ministère, je n'ai rien plus au cœur, que le service du Roi mon maître, et le bien et l'union de deux nations. Je conçois parfaitement bien que l'estime mutuel des deux souverains l'un envers l'autre, et la confiance et bonne foi de leurs ministères respectifs, sont et seront toujours les plus surs garants de cette union si désirable. C'est sur ce système que je travaille, et je ne le discontinuerai point, pendant mon ministère, et j'ai la satisfaction de trouver, que je n'ai pas mal réussi à cela.

1763. Je n'entrerai pas dans le détail de ce qui concerne l'entrétien des prisonniers faits de part et d'autre: comme le Comte de Hertford notre ambassadeur a des instructions de travailler sur ce point, à peu prés de la manière que votre Excellence a proposé, à laquelle j'ai contribué autant quil m'a été possible.

Quant à ce qui régarde le port de Dunkerque, c'est un pas trop dangereux pour moi, de parler et surtout d'écrire, tout ce que je pense sur ce sujet, mais je puis vous assurer, Monsieur (et M. le Comte de Guerchi me rendra justice sur cet article), que je n'ai cessé depuis mon rétour en Angleterre, de faire de mon mieux, de guérir les préjugés de mes compatriots, et je continue mes efforts vis-à-vis mes collègues dans le ministère pour les faire gouter les raisonnemens solides de votre Excellence sur cette matière. Au reste, Monsieur, soyez persuadé que je n'ai pas manqué d'assurer le Roi mon maître, des sentimens de droiture et d'amitié de Sa Majesté très Xtienne envers lui, et de son désir sincère de maintenir et resserrer l'amitié que les unit ensemble, et je me rends garant à votre Excellence de la purété des intentions du Roi mon maître pour la conservation d'un objêt si désirable.

Je ne puis finir cette lettre, qu'en réiterant à votre Excellence le souvenir que je conserverai pour toute ma vie, de toutes les marques de bonté et d'amitié, qu'elle a bien voulue me donner pendant mon séjour en France, et en l'assurant de le considération distingué avec lequelle je suis, &c.

BEDFORD.

1764.

DAVID HUME TO MR. NEVILLE.*

Manifold have been the persecutions, dear Sir, which the unhappy Jews, in several ages, have suffered from the misguided zeal of the Christians, but there has at last arisen a Jew capable of avenging his injured nation, and striking terror into their proud oppressors; this formidable Jew is Mons. de Pinto, and the unhappy Christian, who is chiefly exposed to all the effects of his cruelty, is your humble servant. He says, that you promised to mention him to me; I do not remember that you did: he says, that he has done the most signal services to England, while the Duke of Bedford was ambassador here; I do not question it, but they are unknown to me: he says, that he is poor, and must have a pension for his reward; I wish he may obtain it, but I cannot assist him: he sends me letters, which I transmit to you, but I cannot oblige you to answer them: he says, that Lord Hertford must get justice done him, if the Duke of Bedford neglects him; I do not believe that the Duke of Bedford neglects any body that has done him service: he grows angry; I exhort him to patience.

This, dear Sir, is a very abridged account of the dialogue which passes every day between M. Pinto and me, that is, every day when he can break in upon me, and lay hold of me: when he catches

* Mr. Hume was at this time Secretary of Legation to Lord Hertford, who succeeded the Duke as Ambassador at Paris.—Lord Brougham states that his dispatches, whilst in that employment, "are highly creditable to his business-like talents, and his capacity for affairs."—*Lives of Men of Letters in Time of Geo. III.*, 225.

1764. Lord Hertford, he is very copious on the same subject; but when he seizes poor Lord Beauchamp, his Lordship has good reason to curse the day he was born mild and gentle, and made incapable of doing or saying a harsh thing.

But to be serious with regard to the man, I imagine, from what he tells me, and from a letter of yours which he showed me, that he had endeavoured to be useful to the Duke of Bedford and you during the negotiations of the peace: perhaps he was useful in some particulars, but to what extent you best know, and I am certain, that you neither forget nor neglect him, though you have not answered his multiplied letters. I should not think, that it at all lay upon me to solicit you in his behalf, or even to write to you about him, had I not been forced by his constant teazing, which I could no otherwise get rid of. If the Duke of Bedford thinks him entitled to no reward, you would do this family a great service by telling him so at once: if the Duke intends to do him service, he would be very happy to have the encouragement of some hint in his favour. I only beg of you to excuse my meddling at all in this affair; which, I am sensible, does not belong to me, and which I should have avoided, had it not been in this manner extorted from me.*

I am, &c.

DAVID HUME.

Paris, March 14. 1764.

* The assistance given by M. de Pinto to the Duke has been already mentioned (suprà, p. 184). He subsequently obtained, by the Duke's influence at the East India House, a pension from the Company of 500*l.* per annum.

EARL OF SANDWICH TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD. 1764.

Whitehall, March 16. 1764.

My Lord,

Last mail brought a letter from Mr. Mitchell, at Berlin, informing me that he had had an audience of the King of Prussia, who had agreed to recall Monsieur Mechel* from hence, in consequence of his representations. I expect a more full account from him by the next post, as he says he had not time to write all that passed; but that, upon the whole, his interview went off much better than he had reason to expect it would.

Lord Chancellor † told me this morning that he had just had an audience of the King, who had graciously conferred upon him the honour of an Earldom; he seems excessively pleased, and, to judge by appearances, one would be inclined to hope he will preserve his present good humour, as he is full of professions of gratitude to His Majesty for so distinguishing a mark of his favour.

I have sent your Grace all the papers in my office which are not in circulation; I have sent to the other office to know whether they have any thing, but am informed they have not. I shall

* The King of Prussia's minister to the British Court. He had made himself personally offensive to the Ministry by his intrigues with the Opposition against the Peace. Sir Hanbury Williams, when Minister at Berlin, had, in like manner been recalled at the request of the King of Prussia, so that the latter could not complain.–Walpole's *Memoirs of Geo. III.*, vol. ii. p. 12.

† Lord Henley, created Earl of Northington, May 19.

1764. continue to trouble you with these packets till your return to town, and with any information that is worthy your notice. If you have any commands for me, I hope you will be assured that I shall execute them with pleasure and punctuality, and that

I am, &c. &c.

SANDWICH.

MARQUIS OF TAVISTOCK TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Hôtel de Tours, Rue du Paon,
April 6. 1764.

I send you this letter, my dearest father, by a courier of Lord Hertford's, who sets out to-day. I have not yet seen my Lord, but found my Lady at home last night, who talked a great deal of their obligations to you for the part you took in the affair of the printers. They seem to be very well liked here. I arrived just in time to sup at the Temple on Wednesday last, where I was most extremely well received, and have great reason to be satisfied with all my friends' reception of me. The Prince of Conti‡ has gained great credit in the affairs of the Parliament this winter, and continues still very full of employment.* I shall have about a week at L'Isle d'Adam, as he goes *en particulier* before Easter. Madame de Pompadour is certainly

* His intrigues with the Parliament caused Louis the XV. to call him Mon Cousin l'Avocat.

out of danger for the present; Monsieur de Choiseul has not yet been at Paris; I shall take the first opportunity I can of calling upon them. I called last night upon Madame Geoffrain, a little alarmed for my reception, but I was agreeably surprised at her graciousness; she seemed really overjoyed to hear you were all so well. I have lived so much with French people, that its a wonder I have not yet seen the *illustre Hume*, for there is nobody so *fêté* by the fine ladies as he is. Adieu, my dearest father; if my mother has any commissions for me here, I hope she will send them soon. 1764.

Most truly yours,

F. T.

GENERAL DRAPER TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD. *

Clifton, April 28. 1764.

My Lord Duke,

I am truly and highly sensible of the kind part you have been pleased to take in my behalf, and beg leave to return my sincerest thanks. It is not part of your Grace's character to abandon those you have been pleased to honour with professions of friendship or assistance; such an impu-

* The writer of this letter, now almost forgotten, except for his controversy with Junius, had been promised, at the Duke's recommendation the first vacant red ribbon, in acknowledgment of his services at the siege of Madras, and in the conquest of the Philippines. Mr. Grenville, however, very properly conferred the one vacant on this occasion on Lord Clive, who was on the point of returning to India, but Colonel Draper had the next.

1764. tation was never charged to the Duke of Bedford: but a minister of the House of Commons is seldom so steady in his professions. All merit with him is weighed in parliamentary scales; it is no wonder, then, that I flew up and kicked the beam, when balanced against Lord Clive. But I own to your Grace, it is not a little mortifying, that we, who serve government from principle and affection, should be so often sacrificed to these new converts to administration, who serve it only from self-interest and convenience. Whenever I am employed again, I will be a most dirty dog, rob and pillage wherever I can, deserve to be hanged, and then carry every point for myself and my associates. But God forbid, my Lord, that this idle affair should give your Grace a moment's uneasiness; I am sure it will give poor Grenville much more: let us be revenged that way.

I am, &c.

WILL. DRAPER.

LORD TAVISTOCK TO SIR CHARLES BUNBURY.

London, June 8. 1764.

I am going to be married*, my dearest Bunbury, and to a woman whom I am happy in knowing you love and honour: it is Lady E. Keppel; and I can assure you I am as happy as a man in

* Lord Tavistock was married to Lady Elizabeth Keppel on the 9th of June, and the marriage proved most happy to them both, though Providence was pleased to give it a sad and early termination.

my situation in life can possibly be: her behaviour, ever since I proposed myself to her, has been more magnanimous, more feeling, and more proper, than the warmest of her well-wishers could flatter themselves with. We go on Thursday to Woburn; and, I believe, shall be married within the week. Adieu! when I've leisure, I will write you more fully: in the mean time, remember me to your wife, whose approbation will double my present happiness. 1764.

Ever yours,

F. T.

EARL OF SANDWICH TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Whitehall, July 20. 1764.

My Lord,

Yesterday the messenger returned from Madrid; I enclose to your Grace the answer relative to the bay of Honduras, which I think tolerably satisfactory, though I own I wish they had disavowed their governor more explicitly, and assured us that our logwood cutters might return to their stations without fear of any farther molestation: however, it is to be hoped that upon repeated representations the rest will follow.

Lord Halifax, Mr. Grenville, and I had a conversation with Monsieur Guerchy, on Wednesday evening, that lasted from nine o'clock till one in the morning; what your Grace had already said to him had had a very good effect, though the term of years you seem to think might be allowed them

1764. for the payment of the balance is more than could be justified in parliament, after allowing them an abatement of eleven millions of livres, which must be coloured by the idea of its being given up for prompt payment: besides, His Majesty seems very averse to the consenting to so long a term; I really believe the utmost he could be brought to consent to would be three years, and he told Mr. Grenville not to go beyond two *: we have named no particular period in which the payment must be made, but have represented to the French ambassador, in the strongest terms, that a quick payment is necessary, and will entitle them to civilities on our side which otherwise we shall not be able to show them: I think what we said made great impression, and I am persuaded that Monsieur Guerchy will do all he can to gain us the satisfaction we expect on this important point, which is so necessary towards giving us ease in parliament during the course of the next session.

Count Bothmar desired me to propose a marriage between the Prince Royal of Denmark and the Princess Caroline Matilda, which I accordingly did, and found His Majesty well disposed to accept the offer: this, I believe, should not be talked of yet, as it is particularly desired by the court of Denmark that it may remain a secret.

I shall be obliged to your Grace if you will be so

* This passage is remarkable as showing the part taken by the King in the public business of the country: his correspondence with Lord North, indeed, proves that this descended to matters of detail, which must have at times been very embarrassing to his Ministers.

good as to order your two bucks to be at Hinching- 1764.
brook on Sunday the 29th, and Lord Ossory's on the Tuesday following.

I am, &c. &c.

SANDWICH.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Brussels, July 27. 1764.

I beg your Grace not to imagine by my writing to you so soon, that I mean to trouble you with a series of letters by a young gentleman upon his travels to his friend in England; I really have no thoughts of putting my correspondence to such a test, or of employing your time so ill: but, from a long habit of conversing with you one way or other, which you have indulged me in, you must now and then be at the trouble of reading a few lines from me. Lord Farnham and I have employed our time this last fortnight, as well as the sight of all Holland and this country would permit us. At the Hague we found Yorke's character for pride and hauteur established, which made us determine to screw up our dignity to the highest pitch, and it had its effect; for he was more civil to us remarkably than usual.* He carried us to the Prince of Orange, with whom we stayed near an hour; he conversed with us in English, and his

* Colonel Yorke, son of Lord Hardwicke, and Minister at the Hague. He had formerly been attached to the Duke of Cumberland. His connections were all opposed to the Bedford interest. He was highly esteemed in his day as a diplomatist.

1764. understanding is not near so bad as it is represented. We dined the next day with Prince Lewis.* He could not have been more affable and civil if your Grace's interest had been for the prolongation of the war and the aggrandisement of his family, the only purpose of the German war. Count D'Agen lodged in the same house with us; I never saw him in England, but I like him exceedingly. Monsieur D'Avrencourt, the French ambassador, would have had us live with him, but we did not choose to loiter more than three days at the Hague. I never saw a place so full of party cabal as that is for and against French interest, which Yorke seems to me very much to encourage, and takes a pride in setting himself against France and French people that is absurd, particularly against the ambassador, who seems the best sort of man in the world. The French are even with him at Amsterdam, for there are not three merchants in that city who are not more inclined to France than to us. We played every night, at la Baronne Perrieres, at a game called trente-et-une, an excellent game, which I propose, as we are generally at a loss for play, to introduce amongst the members of the Porter Club. After passing through all North and South Holland, we hired a yacht from Rotterdam to carry us to Bergen-op-Zoom. We were from Sunday afternoon till Tuesday evening on board; but I never had so pleasant a sail in my life amongst

* Prince Lewis of Brunswick served many years in Holland, and was Captain General of the army there. He died in 1788.

all the islands of Zealand, and we were well paid for our voyage; for, though I don't much love captains and cannon, yet the fortifications of that place are worth seeing; and the Prince of Anhalt, who commands there, sent us a most sensible fellow to explain the whole to us. From Bergen-op-Zoom we went to Antwerp, where I own I was tired of Rubens's great bubbies and enormous legs and arms. Sir James Lowther has been giving a thousand pounds a-piece for pictures there; and my fellow traveller, who has somewhat of the same rage upon him, would have given seven hundred pounds for a Vandyke of three figures, if he could have it for the money. We arrived here, luckily, just at the eve of a gala day, and made our vulgar, sensible minister* carry us directly to Monsieur Cobenzl, who asked us to dinner with Prince Charles † and his sister Madame Royale, as she is called, whose birthday occasioned the fête: a very great one it was, consisting of a table of forty covers of the first people of this country. Prince Charles talked much to us, and invited us to dinner at his house in the country; but it being at a distance from hence, we have declined it, and shall set out for Paris to-morrow. At this dinner I met Woronzow, on his return from Paris to the Hague; he has been to see his relation, who 1764.

* Sir James Porter. His work on the manners and customs of the Turks is praised by Gibbons, and is intelligent and interesting.

† Prince Charles of Lorraine, the well-known commander of the Austrian army in the former war.

1764. has been in Italy. We had much English politics together; he is sore to the greatest degree, and hates Sandwich most cordially. He drank your health and the Duchess's to me, but he owns he hates the rest of the administration, and wishes success to the opposition. I told him he had been wiser if he had never said as much till he had left our country, which I am sure he feels and thinks at this instant. He had not been at Compeigne, or seen any of the French ministers, but had dined with Selwyn at Madame Geoffrin's. Young Fox * is come here to-day, in his way to Spa, and says he saw Lord March also upon his road to Paris; when I get there I may possibly trouble your Grace with another scrawl. The foreign newspapers have sent me there with dispatches of the utmost importance: I have seen no English ones, but I suppose they were the first inventors of that curious intelligence.

I am, &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

I must tell you an excellent idea of Prince Charles's here, which I saw to-day in his cabinet of curiosities. He has got painted the heads of Count Kaunitz and all his other enemies at Vienna, whether male or female, and fixed them to the bodies of the most mischievous animals in the creation, agreeable to his notions of their particular species of malignity. It would be a pretty subject for English humour in these hot party times.

* Afterward the Right Hon. Charles Fox.

In a letter of Lord Sandwich's, stating that he had just received the enclosed from Mr. Rivers:— 1764.

"The Dutch mail is arrived this morning, and is just gone to the King at Richmond; as the waiting for the box from his Majesty might make it very late before your Lordship would receive your private letters of to-day, I have ordered the messenger, as soon as the King returns the box, to go with it directly from Belvidere to Richmond, and despatch another to your Lordship.

"The only news by the mail is from Russia, where an ineffectual attempt has been made, in the Empress's absence, in favour of Iwan, who was confined in a castle called Schlusselbourg. A lieutenant got some men together in the night, seized the commandant, and demanded the person of Iwan. They had made some progress towards carrying their point, when two officers, who had the immediate custody of him, took the alarm: they told the lieutenant that they had orders to destroy their prisoner, in case any attempt was made in his favour; and the lieutenant persisting in his undertaking, they proceeded to execute their cruel orders, and gave Iwan the first stab in his sleep, which awoke him, and he made such resistance, that he received eight wounds before he expired. The officers then showed the body to the lieutenant, telling him he might do what he pleased with it: he covered it with the colours, kissed the hands, pulled off his gorget and sash, and laying them on the body, surrendered himself with great heroism, only

1764. expressing concern for the soldiers engaged with him.* This is, as near as I can recollect, the substance of Lord Buckingham's account; his letter is dated the 20th July. Sir J. Yorke mentions this attempt, but with few particulars, and did not know the catastrophe of Iwan: he says, Count Woronzow had received an estafette, with an account of the affair, from Monsieur Pannin; and your Lordship will find, among the *long packet* letters, a copy of that minister's circular on the subject to Monsieur Gross, which makes very light of it, and does not name Iwan, but calls the prisoner *un inconnu*, confined among other reasons for madness: but Monsieur Pannin does not own the death of even this *inconnu*. His circular is dated the 24th July. Though your Lordship will receive the letters themselves this afternoon, I thought this story so curious, as to justify my troubling your Lordship with it.

Monday Afternoon, Aug. 13. 1764.
(Three o'Clock.)

EARL OF SANDWICH TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

(Secret.) Nov. 13. 1764.

My Lord,

Lord Rochford's last letters bring some intelligence which (though I think it is very doubtful whether it is authentic) requires some serious

* A contemporary account of this dark transaction is also given in Walpole's *Memoirs of George III.*, vol. ii. p. 33.

attention: it is no less than a scheme of some desperate persons to set fire to our dockyards. Though I own myself that I doubt the reality of this information, yet some circumstances attending it, make it advisable to take every precaution to discover it, and prevent the execution of so detestable a project. We have, therefore, sent down Carrington and some other trusty people to Portsmouth and Plymouth, to endeavour to find out whether there are any suspicious people lurking in either of these places, and if there are, proper measures will be taken to prevent the mischief they intend. I hope, however, the whole is without foundation, and that no eclat will happen, as the utmost care is taken that the whole inquiry may remain a secret. 1764.

I have the satisfaction to tell your Grace, that I saw the French ambassador a few hours ago at Leicester House, and he tells me he received a courier late last night, with very satisfactory despatches from his court, relative to the payment of the money for the maintenance of the prisoners: that our expedient is entirely approved; and that he doubts not but that we shall be all well pleased with the report Lord Halifax will make of the conference he is to have with him by appointment to-morrow morning.

The Master of the Rolls * has had an apoplectic

* Sir Thomas Clarke, an eminent lawyer: he died on the 13th. In a subsequent letter from Lord Sandwich to the Duke of Bedford, not printed, he states: "It was almost certain that Mr. Yorke would take his part with the administration but that matter remains still doubtful. Mr. Grenville has had several conferences with Mr. Yorke of many hours."

1764. fit: if he lives, which is very doubtful, it is supposed he never will be able to do any business again; and the Primate of Ireland will probably not live many days: all his friends mention his case as utterly desperate.

I am, ever,

SANDWICH.

EARL OF SANDWICH TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

(Secret.) Whitehall, Nov. 22. 1764.

My Lord,

I have not been able to see Mr. Grenville this afternoon; but I believe he has had an interview this morning with Mr. Yorke †, and if he has, I am pretty certain the latter has agreed to accept either the office of Master of the Rolls or Attorney General.

My reason for entertaining this opinion is, because Mr. Yorke went yesterday to Claremont, and took with him Mr. Frederick Montagu, to be witness to what passed between him and the master of the house. I have heard Mr. Montagu's report from his cousin, and the substance of it is, that Mr. Yorke told the Duke of Newcastle, that he had no engagements with him that ought to prevent his taking such a part in public affairs as he thought most advisable. It is not necessary to trouble your Grace with the circumlocution that was used to colour the disagreeable explanation that Mr. Yorke thought it necessary to make to this poor old man; let it suffice that he went to tell him that he did

not intend to act with him in opposition to the government, and that nothing passed in this interview that was contrary to that resolution. 1764.

I understand that Mr. Yorke intended to carry three witnesses with him, but two of them, namely, Lord Lyttleton and Lord Besborough, excused themselves upon pretext of indisposition, or something of that nature.

Your Grace will always receive from me the whole of any intelligence that I can think worthy your notice; I now tell you all I know, if there is any thing more to-morrow, you may be assured of hearing it from, &c. &c.

SANDWICH.

DR. MARKHAM TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

My Lord,

I beg leave to trouble your Grace with the state of my expectations from the resignation of the Deanery of Westminster, which Dr. Gregory has been ready to take, that he might make way for me at Christchurch, though he would gain nothing by the exchange.

I shall always remember that your Grace was wiser than I was, when you told me that the Deanery of Peterborough would at least be something in hand. I thought I had sufficient ground for declining it, as the Bishop of Rochester* as-

* Dr. Zachariah Pearce, a prelate so amiable and disinterested that it is difficult to give implicit belief to Dr. Markham's charge against him.

1764. sured me that very morning, that he should certainly resign his deanery at Michaelmas, and advised me, as the time was so short, not to be at the trouble and expense of being inducted at Peterborough. He gave me leave to communicate this to your Grace and Mr. Grenville, which I did immediately, by a note to Lord Mansfield, who had just before told me that he was to meet you both at the Charterhouse that morning.

About a week after I received a letter from him, advising me, if it was not too late, to accept of what was offered, because, as he said, in his language, we none of us know our own hearts, and it is possible I may change my mind.

Your Grace was at this time gone to Woburn; I showed the letter to Mr. Grenville, who told me that another arrangement had been made to accommodate Sir James Lowther, and that it would be difficult to bring things back again. I said, if the altering the new arrangement would be inconvenient to administration, I was far from wishing it.

I would have sent the Bishop of Rochester's letter to your Grace, if I had not thought it unnecessary to trouble you on the occasion, as he answered me immediately after, that notwithstanding what he had said in his letter, he still held his resolution of resigning before Christmas. He said this to the Dean of Christchurch, and to me, at various times, and though his taking a longer term had not a good look, I was still willing to impute it

rather to an awkwardness that I had been long acquainted with, than to insincerity and meanness. I had afterwards, indeed, juster grounds for suspecting him, when I heard from the Dean of Christchurch, that in their last convocation, he said it might possibly not be till Easter. 1764.

After I had been at Durham near five months, I thought it prudent to inform myself of his intentions: I wrote to him last week, and told him, if he was yet come to any determination, it would be very convenient to let me know it. I have just now received his answer, in which I am told that he is still uncertain not only as to the time, but as to the event itself. That it certainly cannot be before the end of the summer, because a house, which he is repairing at Ealing, will not be finished before that time.

In this handsome manner has he concluded the drama of the resignation, which from the first opening has lasted three years. Indeed, my Lord, when I consider what materials some bishops are made of, I flatter myself that I should not dishonour the bench, if your Grace should think me so far worthy of your protection. Should I be so fortunate as to obtain one of the inferior bishoprics, my prebend in the Church, with my wife's fortune, would enable me to maintain the dignity. In case of such an event, if it should be thought proper at any time after to send me to Christchurch, I shall be ready to gratify the wishes of many of my friends by being as useful as I can

1764. in that station. The Crown will then gain the presentation to my prebend, which is worth 700 pounds a year.

Whatever preferment I may chance to rise to, I shall not set a higher value on any of its emoluments than on the ability it may possibly give me of being useful to some of your Grace's friends.

Many years are passed since your Grace first honoured me with the offer of your protection. I have always been careful of teazing you with solicitation. I hope, therefore, you will acquit me of forwardness. My four children are about me while I am writing, — when I look at them, I acquit myself.

I am, &c.

WILL. MARKHAM.

Durham, Dec. 4. 1764.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO DR. MARKHAM.

December 10. 1764.

Sir,

It is, I confess, very unfortunate that the unsteadiness (not to give it a worse appellation) of the Bishop of Rochester should have deprived you of that preferment, which the Crown designed for you, and which would have been so agreeable to you. You know that my opinion was, that you should take something in hand, — the deanery of Peterborough, which was then vacant; as I have

ever found at court, that a person who has something to give in exchange, stands a better chance for speedy preferment than one who has nothing to demit in favour of another. You will always find me very desirous of serving you, whenever a proper opportunity shall offer, though I cannot presume to say what the King's intentions may be about any future vacancies of bishoprics. 1764.

St. James's, Feb. 1. 1765.

Note of some of the most material Circumstances that passed in the Conversation, last winter, between Mr. Grenville, the Duke of Richmond, and Mr. Conway.

At the first outset, Mr. Grenville informed the Duke of Richmond that he had never desired the meeting for explanation through the channel of Mr. Walpole, as had been represented.

In the next place he desired to know, whether the conversation that should arise was to be considered in a public or private light, and consequently not to be revealed, except in such particulars as both parties should agree to. This was answered, that it was to be considered as private conversation, and consequently inviolably secret, but that Mr. Conway should be at liberty to say, that though he declared himself not to be in a systematical opposition to Government at that time, yet he laid in his

1765. claim to preserve his private and friendly connections with the Duke of Grafton.*

This *précis* was taken immediately on my return to Bedford House, according to the best of my memory of a conversation I had with Mr. Grenville in the Council Chamber.

IN THE HANDWRITING OF THE KING.

45 m. past 11. A. M.

My Lord,

Having learnt from Lord Sandwich, yesterday, that you was able on Tuesday to attend both the Council and the House of Lords, I wish you would call on me at two this day, if you think that, with the assistance of your green silk, it will do you no harm; if you are in the least doubtful of that, I would defer seeing you for a few days.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Bedford House, May 19. 1765.

You must doubtless have heard, my dear Lord, of the riots and tumults we have had here;

* Walpole says: "The meeting ended fruitlessly, as we had foreseen. Conway was naturally cold, and Grenville far from being master of ingratiating persuasion."—*Memoirs of George III.*, vol. i. p. 344. The dismissal of Conway was a great blunder; but the precedents for such an exercise of the prerogative satisfied Mr. Grenville, who was too ready to confound precedents with justice.

I hope all that is now partly subsided, though I am yet obliged to keep garrison here* with 100 infantry and 36 cavalry, and it being Sunday night, the concourse of people is still very great, though not at all dangerous, it consisting chiefly of such as mere curiosity has brought here. I should not have troubled you with this account by flying packet, had not a much more national affair intervened. We have long been apprehensive (I mean the King's ministers) that Lord Bute had for some time past been operating mischief with the King, and Mr. Grenville and I, so long ago as the beginning of last week, took the liberty to mention to the King our suspicions, to which we could obtain no more satisfactory answer, but that he would explain himself more fully hereafter. But it having transpired on Thursday night that a negotiation was actually then carrying on, through the channel of the Duke of Cumberland, with Mr. Pitt, Lord Temple, Duke of Newcastle, and most of the opposition, and Lord Bute, we found it absolutely 1765.

* These were the riots committed by the Spitalfields weavers from resentment at the failure of the Bill in the Lords, increasing the duties on the importation of Italian silks. The Duke, with the strong feeling which he always showed against restrictions on trade, opposed the Bill, and indeed spoke against it, though he was the only peer that did so. He was assaulted by the mob on returning from the House of Lords, and narrowly escaped with his life. A few days after they attacked Bedford House in such force that they had nearly made their way through the garden, and were only repelled by the timely arrival of a reinforcement of the Horse Guards. The courage displayed by the Duke on both occasions is admitted by those who were least disposed to praise him.—Walpole's *Memoirs of George III.*, vol. ii. p. 156. *Correspondence*, vol. v. p. 35.

1765. necessary in the perilous circumstances of the times, when rebellion was actually in the centre of the metropolis, and I, a peer of Parliament, debarred from taking my seat there, and arraigned by a mob for having given my vote there according to my conscience and opinion, to inquire of his Majesty his intentions with regard to our continuance in his service. We could obtain no further explanation than his intentions to change his administration, but without alleging any fault we had committed towards him, or informing when or by whom we were to be replaced. I took the liberty to remind the King upon what conditions proposed by himself, namely, the excluding Lord Bute from his presence, and any participation in public affairs, I was called by him into his service, and how very unfaithfully these conditions had been kept with me. I showed him the immediate necessity of forming an administration of some kind or other, when all rule and authority was trampled on, and his government set at nought; and how little proper we, who had lost his confidence by the artifices of his favourite, were to reinstate, in the last act of our administration, order and tranquillity in the distempered state things now were. I therefore intreated him, for his own sake, the public's, our own, and his future ministers, to fix our successors immediately. I assured him that the same harmony which had subsisted between us until the present time, did and would continue. Thus I left him, as did all the rest, without being

able to get an explicit answer.* I leave it, my dear Lord, to your consideration, whether your presence is town is not necessary at the present crisis. I think mine so much so, that I stay in town, though almost a prisoner in my own house, and not able, without the utmost hazard of my life, to have attended the House of Lords the two last days of their meeting. 1765.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Monday, 5 minutes before 6,
May 20. 1765.

My dear Lord,

I am this instant come from the House of Lords, where I must do Lord Halifax the justice to say, he has done your Grace due honour, speaking on Weymouth's motion for a proclamation, which passed unanimously. Lord Bute was there, to whose face Halifax said, if there was an evil counsellor about the King, who at this time dared to

* As long as the Ministers possessed the confidence of the House of Commons, and no public grounds were assigned for the King's desiring to dismiss them, the negotiation which his Majesty was then carrying on with the leaders of the Opposition justified a strong remonstrance on the part of the Duke. According to Walpole, the Ministers told the King that they would resign by the following Tuesday, if no Administration was formed by that time.—*Memoirs of George III.*, vol. ii. p. 164.

1765. advise the King to show your Grace any mark of his displeasure, he would be the detestation of every honest man in the nation, and his name be held in abomination for ever. The Chancellor* spoke incomparably, and advised the justices to a strict execution of the Riot Act. In the middle of this business, the Sheriffs of London arrived with accounts of a general rising intended to-morrow morning, of all the weavers, shoemakers, tailors, and dyers, who have armed themselves with cutlasses, and are determined to come to the houses of Parliament; and if they have no assurance that no more French silk shall be imported, they will proceed to violence, and plunder every mercer's shop in town, and pull down your Grace's house, who, they are informed, promised the French, at the signing of the peace, to suffer French silks to be imported for three years. The Secretaries of State don't dine here, having too much to do. All your orders are obeyed about the disposition of the troops.

I shall see you in the evening, if I don't hear sooner from Hale, that disturbances are begun.

COLONEL DALRYMPLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Bruton Street, May 22. 1765.

My Lord,

I came to town this morning, on hearing that a mob had given us a new ministry. Some days ago

* The Earl of Northington.

I saw that mob on their march to Richmond, who appeared rather to be a parcel of recruits going to their regiments, than a populace following the dictates of rage and passion: but, let them be mob, or any other denomination, they are dangerous weapons when directed against any individual.—All I shall say is, that I feel that indignation which must fire the breast of every man, when he sees a man of honour, integrity, and every other amiable quality attacked and insulted, yet no nerve of Government exerted to do justice to the public in resenting his wrongs. 1765.

Your Grace will forgive me in taking this opportunity of assuring you of my most sincere attachment to your person. The obligations I owe your Grace burn in my breast till I have an opportunity of showing the sincerity of my gratitude, and I am at all times ready to obey your commands,

Being, &c.

HEW DALRYMPLE.

[It may be convenient to the reader to be reminded that the negotiation with Mr. Pitt through the Duke of Cumberland having failed, the King was compelled, on the 22nd, to take back his Ministers, and they returned to their duties only on his giving his word neither to see Lord Bute, nor to keep Mr. Mackenzie in the post of Privy Seal in Scotland. A full account of this transaction is given by Walpole, in his Memoirs (vol. ii. p. 175). Sir Gilbert Elliott, whose information was probably

1765. derived from the King himself, writes in his (MS.) Diary: "His Majesty said that he had talked no politics with Lord Bute since he retired to his house at Luton, in 1763; but as to the last article, Mr. Mackenzie would have no objection to give up the direction of Scotch affairs, which he had ever considered as a great load upon him; but added, that when he appointed that gentleman Privy Seal, he had passed his Royal word that this office should continue for life. Mr. Grenville still persisted, and the King complied, using these expressions: "I will not throw my kingdom into confusion. You force me to break my word, and must be responsible for the consequences."

"The King sent for Mr. Mackenzie in the evening, and a very affecting scene passed between them. He also on the following morning repeated to his servants the conversation he had had with his Ministers, and complained warmly of the force which had been put upon him.

"Sunday (26th May).—The King continued at Richmond, his mind so agitated that he did not choose to take the sacrament that day; nor was there any drawing-room."]

EARL OF SANDWICH TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

May 29. 1765.

My Lord,

This morning His Majesty notified to Mr. Grenville, that he should appoint the Duke of An-

caster to succeed Lord Weymouth as Master of the Horse to the Queen. Mr. Grenville represented against it, as far as he could with propriety; but was told, that this not being in his own, but the Queen's service, he wished it might be done in the way that her Majesty approved. This was before the levée, and, on Mr. Grenville's making his report of what had passed, Lord Gower desired him to go in again and recommend Lord Waldegrave to succeed the Duke of Ancaster as Lord of the Bedchamber, which he very readily undertook, but without success, being told by his Majesty, that it was necessary in the present state of his finances to be as saving as possible, and that he had accordingly taken a resolution to let the Lords of the Bedchamber sink to their original number. 1765.

Lord Weymouth and Lord Frederick Campbell * were this day sworn members of the Privy Council.

I only trouble your Grace with these facts, because Lord Gower will be with you to-morrow, and will let you know every particular that passed this day; and his and our observations on the appearances of things.

I am, &c.

SANDWICH.

* Lord Frederick Campbell had succeeded Mr. Mackenzie. Sir Gilbert Elliott says (MS. Diary), that the King did not speak either to him or Lord Weymouth on their kissing hands, and that he hardly spoke to any of his Ministers, whilst he distinguished Mr. Mackenzie in a very particular manner.

1765. In another letter, of the 1st of June, Lord Sandwich says, "I most certainly agree with your Grace, that the aspect of things is very unpleasant, and that some concert should be held among us, which makes me regret the short stay you think of making in town, where your advice may be wanted every day. I will, however, certainly wait on you on Monday evening, in my return from the Trinity House."

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Streatham, June 13. 1765.

I promised you, my dear Lord, to let you know if any thing material should occur before I left this place to go to Woburn; and I thought it probable something would, as I was determined to have an explanation* with the King before my absenting myself from court for so long a term as a month, as I hope not to be obliged to come to this part of the world before the 15th of July. I accordingly went into the closet yesterday, and, after some prefatory discourse, and receiving his orders about business now depending in counsel, I took the liberty to desire leave to recapitulate to him

* See the minutes of this explanation after this letter.

what had passed between him and his ministers, from the time he avowed the design of changing his administration to their being called back again by him to resume their functions. Whether his countenance and support had not been promised them? Whether this promise had been kept? but, on the contrary, whether all those who are our most bitter enemies had not been countenanced by him in public? and whether we and our friends had not met with a treatment directly opposite to this? Whether he is not in his retirement beset with our avowed enemies? Whether the Earl of Bute's representing the ministers in a bad light to him, either by himself or his emissaries, is not an interfering (at least indirectly) in public counsels? Does not this favourite, by interfering in this manner, and not daring to take a responsible employment, act with the utmost hazard to himself? and, which is of more consequence, risk the King's quiet and the safety of the public? What must be the opinion of the public here, and of Europe in general? Having received no satisfactory answer to any of these questions, nor indeed any other but that Lord Bute was not at all consulted, and that he had never done me any ill offices with his Majesty, I proceeded to beseech him to permit his authority and his favour and countenance to go together; and if the last can't be given to his present ministers, to transfer to others that authority, which must be useless in their hands, unless strengthened by the former. I assured him that we thought our- 1765.

1765. selves unfortunate in having lost his good opinion, but that we were conscious of our own good intentions, and that his Majesty is misled by misrepresentations. This is the whole that passed, which is indeed by no means satisfactory to me. Nothing new, worth mentioning, has happened since your leaving town, but that the Duke of Devonshire and his three uncles were at court yesterday; invited thither, as I am told, by the King. Adieu, my dear Lord; I desire my best love to Car. I intend setting out immediately for Woburn.

BEDFORD.

MINUTES OF MATTERS TO BE MENTIONED TO THE KING, ON WEDNESDAY, JUNE 12. 1765.

The ecclesiastical affairs of Canada, upon which a Committee of Council is to meet on Thursday, and for which I have staid near London till this time, though I had the King's leave to go to Woburn, for which place I propose to set out on Thursday night for a month at least, until the business of the Council Board shall again call me to town.

To beg leave to recapitulate to the King, before my departure, what has passed between him and his ministers, from the time he avowed his design of changing his administration to our being called back again to resume our functions.

Countenance and support was promised.

Has it been observed? On the contrary, have not all those who are our most bitter enemies been countenanced by the King? And have not we and our friends met with a direct contrary treatment? 1765.

Is not the King, in his retirement, beset with our avowed enemies? Is not the Earl of Bute, representing the ministers in a bad light to the King, either by himself or his emissaries, interfering at least indirectly in public counsels?

Does not this favourite, by interfering in this manner, and not daring to take a responsible employment, risk the utmost hazard to himself (sic in the original), and, which is of more consequence, risk the King's quiet and the safety of the public?

What must be the opinion of the public here, and of Europe in general?

To beseech the King to permit his authority and his favour and countenance to go together; and, if the last can't be given to his present ministers, to transfer to others that authority which must be useless in their hands, unless strengthened by the former.

We think ourselves unfortunate in having lost his good opinion, but are conscious of our own good intentions, and that his Majesty is misled by misrepresentations.

To all these the King made no other answer than

1765. declaring Lord Bute was not consulted, and that he had never done me ill offices with the King.*

June 12. 1765.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Meiltey, Sunday, June 16. 1765.

My dear Lord,

I return you many thanks for the favour of your letter, with the extract of your Grace's to the Duke of Marlborough.

* This no doubt is the paper which Horace Walpole represents the Duke to have read to the King, and which that writer so grossly misrepresents in his Memoirs. (vol.ii.p.183.) Until the publication of that work, the charge against the Duke, of having insulted his Sovereign, rested on the single authority of Junius. Walpole's confirmation is of little value, considering his hatred of the Bedford family, and the unscrupulous manner in which he sometimes allowed his private feelings to interfere with his duties as an historian. After the remarks made in the Introduction to these Letters, and the able and eloquent vindication of the Duke's memory by Lord Brougham (Political Sketches, vol. iii. p. 144.), the Editor will only observe, that the King's conduct had been such as to invite a strong remonstrance from any of his ministers who had the courage to make it; and that the Duke did not express himself otherwise than in terms justified by the occasion, may be inferred from the following passage in the MS. Diary of Sir Gilbert Elliott, an unexceptionable witness, not only from his being a personal friend of the King, but at the time writing under angry feelings towards the Ministers:

"12th June.—The Duke of Bedford went into the closet to read a paper to the King, in which he declared that he was going into the country for a fortnight, perhaps for three weeks, perhaps for a month. That upon Ministers agreeing to continue in the Government, they had expected, particularly himself, to receive more particular marks of his Majesty's favour; but in this they were disappointed. That if, upon his return, they were not received with greater expressions of favour and confidence, he and his colleagues were determined to resign their offices.

"The King replied, that the confidence necessary for the despatch of public business he had given them: that as to favour, they had not taken the way to merit it.

"Next day, or the day following, the Duke of Bedford, Mr. Grenville, and Lord Halifax went to their seats in the country."

The conversation on Wednesday must for ever do you honour and credit; if the behaviour of the other party remains the same, there must sooner or later be an end of this system, and then it will become necessary for your own justification, for all the world to know what you are so good now to entrust me with. I am not surprised at the silence of the other person: it had been wiser not to have broke it at all than merely for the justification of the favourite; but silence is a symptom of amendment, for surely it is honester to hold one's tongue than to be determined to falsify all one says. That a change is determined at Richmond and Windsor, I think is certain; that they will find it impossible to effect it, I think almost as certain. What is the party? Who are the individuals that will risk in the middle of summer, during a prorogation of the Parliament, this desperate measure? This handing the Duke of Devonshire to court, I see, is the Duke of Cumberland's measure, to show the King what a great following he has; I know Bessborough, Rockingham, and others are piqued to death that Lord Temple doubts if he shall shake them off; but can they, with your old friend the Duke of Newcastle and General Conway, form a ministry under the auspices of Lord Bute? Will Charles Townsend now become the Duke of Cumberland's Chancellor of the Exchequer, whom he laughed to scorn a fortnight ago? It is the vain but sanguine hope of this measure, that perhaps 1765.

1765. the uncle has instilled into the nephew, that makes this coldness and reserve continue to all of you.

If the disposition of Lord Temple and Pitt are only neuter, I never will believe there is rashness enough to undertake a change of ministers at this time.

But I don't wonder that you say that this behaviour is by no means satisfactory to you: and, in consequence, I would see as little of it as the nature of the thing will admit. But however fond you may be of retirement, and I assure you with the greatest truth, I wish for that which will make you happiest, this conduct, I hope, will never drive you to it.

My royal visitor staid here from Saturday till Tuesday; we had Quinsey every night and all night, but I could get none of his money, though I lost none of my own. He was very easy, and put me to no sort of trouble or difficulty. He was prudent upon politics, though I pushed him hard when I had him in a one-horse chaise with me. I got, however, enough to find which part of Bedfordshire he loves best, and he has a good taste. Cadogan and Beauclerk staid with me till Friday, and to-morrow I expect the old club from White's. I beg my best respects to Woburn, which is the best place of all. And am, &c. &c.

Richd. Rigby.

1765.

EARL OF SANDWICH TO MR. GRENVILLE.

Wednesday, June 19.
Half-past Three, P.M.

Dear Sir,

I am this moment returned from Court, and by what I am going to say you will find that it is necessary, I should give you a minute detail of all that I have heard and saw there. The King did not come to St. James's till near two o'clock. Upon enquiry I found that the occasion of this unusual delay was, that Mr. Pitt was actually at that time at the Queen's house, where he had been for near two hours.* Lord Chancellor was at Court in consequence of a message he had received from his Majesty to attend him after the levee: as we waited a full hour, I had much confidential conversation with him, and found him thoroughly disposed to give the King the most wholesome advice relative to the present state of men and things. When he had had his audience, he took me aside, and communicated to me all that had passed in the closet,—that the King told him it had been suggested to him that Mr. Pitt might, if his Majesty should see him, be prevailed upon to take a part in his Government; in consequence of which, an intimation had been sent to Mr. Pitt that the King would see him (but by whom that intimation was conveyed I don't know; I imagine, by some one

* There is no other allusion to Mr. Pitt's share in this negotiation in the Chatham papers, than a letter to Lord Lyttleton, in which he says, "this crisis of my life, the most difficult and painful, on all accounts, which I have yet experienced."

1765. from the Duke of Cumberland). Mr. Pitt went accordingly to-day, to the King, and declined entering into any particular detail of the conditions on which he would serve, till he knew what *measures* would be pursued; that those *measures* must be explained and fully understood, before he entered into any engagements: this he adhered to, and desired leave to retire to his country retirement, without coming to any agreement whatever. Lord Chancellor, upon this narrative, represented to the King how unhappy these frequent events must make all those who wished well to him; that he foresaw it would end in his throwing himself upon the Duke of Cumberland, who possibly might undertake to form an administration, though he, (Lord Chancellor) was positive he could not carry it through! and that the best advice he could give was, that his Majesty should stand by his present ministers (who were the only people who could serve him effectually), and treat them with good humour. This, he said, the King seemed to listen to attentively,—and he thinks it made the proper impression; and the audience finished with the King's desiring Lord Chancellor to let him see him often, particularly to return to him to-morrow morning; and his Lordship's conclusion upon the whole is, that Mr. Pitt has certainly done nothing, and that things are better for us than they were before.

I went into the closet after this audience, and the King went through several points of business

with me, with more seeming good humour and care, than I have ever seen him use since the late events; and I am inclined to think with Lord Chancellor, that affairs are altered for the better. In this critical state of affairs, surely you will think your immediate presence among us absolutely necessary: I have sent a copy of the letter I am writing to you to the Duke of Bedford and Lord Halifax, and hope they will come up immediately to meet you. I shall press them in the strongest terms I can, as I do you, because I think the crisis is of the utmost importance, and that the fate of this nation may depend upon our conduct in this delicate state of affairs. Be assured that

1765.

I am, &c.

SANDWICH.

MR. GRENVILLE TO THE EARL OF SANDWICH.

Stowe, June 20. 1765.
Nine o'clock, A.M.

My dear Lord,

The messenger brought me your letter last night at twelve o'clock, just as I was getting into bed, which prevented my re-despatching him till this morning. I am much obliged to you for the detail which you have given me of what has passed; but hope you will excuse me if I cannot agree with you as to the propriety of my immediate return to town

1765. in consequence of it. This is the result of my opinion, after having weighed the whole of the account which you have sent to me. You will consider that the King has not taken the least notice of any part of this business, even to your Lordship, who are upon the spot; nor have you received through the channel of my Lord Chancellor, any positive information what the King's intentions and dispositions now are, or are hereafter likely to be, with regard to his administration, and that influence which has suggested to him the thoughts of changing them. In this state, whilst the favour and authority of the Crown still appear in direct opposition to each other, I own I am not eager to press my advice and services upon the King; nor do I see what benefit can be derived to His Majesty, or to the public, by my being in town. When I took leave of the King, I asked his permission to stay in the country till Tuesday next, which he granted to me. My return to town before that time, uncalled for, will have the appearance of a desire to embarrass the arrangement which he is now endeavouring to form, and which I need not tell you, will come on, or go off, just the same whether I am there or not; as the King would not, in the present situation, communicate it to me, and without that, I certainly should not trouble him upon the subject of it. So far, therefore, from thinking it necessary, I do not think it even decent for me to change the time, which was fixed and settled with the King for my stay in the country,

unless I receive his commands to the contrary. I imagine that these reasons will induce the Duke of Bedford and Lord Halifax (to whom I take for granted you will show this letter) to come to the same resolution, or at least that they will be of sufficient weight with your Lordship, to excuse me for not complying with your wishes and opinion, which I should be extremely desirous to do, whenever my own conviction will allow of it. If anything farther passes, I shall be glad to hear of it; in the mean time, I agree entirely with my Lord Chancellor in lamenting the difficulties, which I fear the King and kingdom will fall into, and which must daily increase instead of diminishing, unless some certain plan is speedily formed and steadily pursued. 1765.

I am, &c. &c.

GEORGE GRENVILLE.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Saturday Night, near Eleven,
June 23. 1765.

My dear Lord,

It is somewhat extraordinary that I should have been two days in town, in such times as these, and not have troubled you with one line. But, really, truth is so difficult to get at, that I have searched in vain to find it; all I know for certain is, that the King came from Richmond this morning to meet Mr. Pitt, at the Queen's House, where

1765. he was with his Majesty for two hours and an half. The King returned immediately to Richmond, and the two first persons who Mr. Pitt sent for were Lord Lincoln and Mr. Calcraft; he fetched the latter, with Lord Granby, from Grantham races, by express, yesterday. It is astonishing how little has transpired, either at the Opera or elsewhere, of what passed this morning; but I know for certain that Pitt returned to Hayes this evening, at seven o'clock, and Lord Temple is not come to town. The Duke of Cumberland is come to town this evening. As I propose the honour of waiting upon you after court, to-morrow, I will say no more till then.

I am, &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

MR. GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Downing Street, Tuesday June 25. 1765.
(Eight o'clock in the Evening.)

My dear Lord,

I would not omit a moment to communicate to your Grace the result of the interview which my brother, Lord Temple, has had this day with the King; which is, that he has declined entering into his Majesty's service, either as First Commissioner of the Treasury, or in any other office, assigning as his reasons for it, the difficulty there would be to form a proper plan to carry on the public business

in the House of Commons, and many other reasons of a tender and delicate nature, which he therefore did not explain. It is understood that, by the plan proposed, Lord Northumberland was to have been brought into the office of Lord Chamberlain, and Mr. Mackenzie into some office as a compensation for that of Lord Privy Seal of Scotland. It is likewise understood that almost all Lord Bute's friends were to have been continued in their employments. Mr. Pitt, it is said, saw the King immediately after Lord Temple, and it is certain that he is this evening returned to Hayes. It is impossible to form any opinion what turn this transaction will take next, and when or how the present scene of confusion will be closed; I will not, therefore, trouble you with uncertain conjectures what will be the consequences, but, when I have told you all the facts which I know, leave it to your own wisdom and experience, which will better suggest them to you than I can do. 1765.

I am, &c.

GEORGE GRENVILLE.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. GRENVILLE.

Woburn Abbey, June 26. 1765.

I am much obliged to you, dear sir, for the favour of your letter; and I am glad to find that, by the spirited and well-judged conduct of Lord Temple, our enemies have been defeated in their

1765. vain object, which seems to me to have been the uniting under the banners of the Duke of Cumberland, the favouritism of Bute, and the popularity of Mr. Pitt. These two could have so little united and mingled cordially together under the auspices of so puerile and *anile* (I fear the word is not English) an administration as the Duke of Cumberland had projected, that surely it would have been beneath the dignity of your brother and Mr. Pitt to have joined their strength to the others' impotence.

But to leave the farther considering what is passed, to come to that which is of most consequence, that which remains to be done at present, to get the King and the public out of the confusion and shameful state of uncertainty in which affairs are at present. The firm union and confidence towards each other in the highest degree,—the uniting with your brother and Mr. Pitt, as far as our sentiments of government and measures can be brought to coincide together, seem to me the only means of extricating the King and public out of the labyrinth of natural shame and confusion into which the iniquity and folly of Lord Bute has plunged them, and to which the weakness (to say no more) of the King has too much contributed. To prevent this happening for the future, a total exclusion of Lord Bute from the King's counsels and presence for ever seems necessary, and a total removal of all his friends from employments either about the King's person or elsewhere.

I begin on another leaf, that should you have a mind to communicate the former part of this letter to any to whom this latter part may seem to you improper to be shown, you may be at liberty to do it: what I wish to suggest to you now is, what seems to me to be the most likely means to obtain an effectual coalition between the present administration, your brother, and Mr. Pitt; should Mr. Pitt decline, either through dislike of supporting the system of foreign politics we have pursued, or, on account of his health, accepting the office of Secretary of State, could he not be prevailed on to accept a peerage, with a profitable reversion to his family? and, in that case, would not Lord Temple accept my employment, and thereby be the means of giving me the satisfaction I have long wished for (but have despaired of succeeding in), of seeing myself once more a private man, you at the head of the administration, my friends and relations in great employments, and a fixed, able, and durable administration, my assistance in parliament (if necessary), and the hearty concurrence of myself and friends for the support of so good a ministry, shall never be wanting. This is the utmost of my wishes for myself; and as I have more than once told you in private conversation, so I do now repeat it, that I can never with pleasure or quiet to my own mind, after the treatment I have received both from the King and public, serve either in the capacity of a minister; and indeed my time of life, and the state of my health, particularly in my eyes, does not a

1765.

1765. little corroborate me in this resolution. You see, dear sir, I open my thoughts to you in the utmost confidence of your friendship to me, and am with great truth,

Your most faithful humble servant,

B.

EARL OF SANDWICH TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Whitehall, June 26. 1765.

My Lord,

I understood from Mr. Grenville, that he wrote to your Grace last night, giving you an account of Lord Temple's interview with the King, and of his having absolutely declined taking any employment. I shall therefore confine myself to the events of this day, and mention as the first, Mr. Pitt's having been the morning again at the Queen's house, where he stayed about an hour. I have since learnt the result of this conference from Lord Chancellor, who went into the closet after the levée, and when he came out told me, that he was told by the King, that this morning's audience with Mr. Pitt ended unfructuously, and that all negotiation with him and Lord Temple was absolutely ended; and his Lordship's opinion upon the whole is, that we may remain if we choose it.

Mr. Grenville went into the closet after the Chancellor, determined not to open first upon the present situation of affairs, and, what is very par-

ticular, came out without his Majesty having said a single word to him except upon the business of his office. 1765.

Lord Halifax and I went in afterwards; but no talk upon the state of men and things, though I never saw the King more pleased or conversible than he was with us this day.

These are the facts, and it is unnecessary to make any long comments upon them; it is now to be seen whether the Duke of Cumberland will be desperate enough to form an administration without Pitt and Temple; if he does, I think we may venture to foretel that it will not be a long-lived one.

I told Grenville before I left court that I was well pleased with the present situation of affairs; that our cause was now in his hands, and that I was well assured he would do it justice.

I am, &c.

SANDWICH.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Marlborough House, Saturday Evening, near Ten, June 29. 1765.

My dear Lord,

Mr. Grenville says, Charles Yorke has been with him, and declared his support, either in or out of employment. Elliott* has done the like; judge if this conduct in these cautious gentlemen, does not show the game desperate every where else. But

* Sir Gilbert Elliott.

1765. I dare say your Grace is as tired of these conjectures and surmises as I am; I am glad to leave them to-morrow, when I propose taking Tavistock in my way to Mistley for one night.

I am, &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

EARL OF SANDWICH TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Whitehall, July 3. 1765.

My Lord,

When I went this morning to court, I thought that on my return home, I should have despatched a messenger to your Grace, with an account of a change of administration; it was universally believed both last night and to-day, that the Duke of Cumberland had formed his plan, and that it was accepted. I was with Grenville at ten in the evening, and he then was of opinion that all was fixed: Lord Rockingham at the head of the Treasury, and the Duke of Grafton, and Lord Egmont, Secretaries of State; from this I concluded that the thing would come out to-day; but we have all been at court, and in the closet, and nothing new has transpired. Though it is still believed that this strange arrangement will take place, as to myself I own I will never credit it till I see it with my own eyes, for it seems to me the most rash attempt that ever was made. A ministry formed avowedly by the Duke of Cumberland and Lord Bute, without Mr. Pitt

and Lord Temple, or any person to conduct the House of Commons, appears too ridiculous to be carried into execution: however, I think it is almost certain that things will come to an issue on or before Friday, and your Grace may depend upon immediate information when any thing decisive happens. Lord Chancellor tells me he saw Mr. Yorke this morning, who had been yesterday with the Duke of Cumberland, but, as he understands by his conversation, came away without having consented to become any part in his Royal Highness's plan, and his Lordship is of opinion (after having been in the closet) that nothing is settled with the other party, but that the King is still undetermined what he shall do. 1765.

I am, &c.

SANDWICH.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.*

Woburn Abbey, July 5. 1765.
(Half-past Five, P.M.)

You are very kind, my dear Lord, in the communication of the offer made you by the King*; the Duke of Cumberland, who is so hampered in not being able to form an administration, which he had promised the King to do, that you see he is obliged to condescend to the mean attempts of disuniting us amongst ourselves, in order to have

* The Duke of Marlborough had been offered the post of Master of the Horse; but not caring (he says) to leave all his friends merely for the sake of having the King's arms on his chariot, he returned a civil refusal.

1765. any hopes of gaining his point. The sending an offer to your Grace of exchanging your present employment for one you may possibly like better, and the offering a more considerable employment to Lord Charles Spencer than that he now enjoys, seems to me to be the greatest insult to you, to suppose you would enter headlong into a plan of which you was not informed, and which depended upon the caprice of one who had declared himself the most determined enemy of me and of my friends; who, whilst they continue such to me, must ever be most firmly so to you, as I flatter myself nothing can ever separate your interests from mine. I can truly say that this fresh instance of your friendship can never be obliterated from my memory. I don't propose going to town till the 15th or 16th instant, nor then if dismissed from my employment, as nothing but the business of the council could have called me up from this place to so disagreeable a one, as the neighbourhood of London; but if you should have any wish to see me whilst you are in town, I will certainly come up on purpose. Adieu, my dear lord; all here must ever love and honour you. Our best love to Car.

B.

THE EARL OF SANDWICH TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Whitehall, July 10. 1765.

My Lord,

Lord Halifax, Mr. Grenville, and myself, have just received letters from the Chancellor, with

the King's orders to bring the seals of our offices to him this day at twelve o'clock; so that this farce is at last ended. 1765.

I saw Lord Townshend last night, who was twice sent for by the King, who used every fair as well as every fallacious argument to engage him to accept some office himself, and to prevail on his brother to accept the seals as Secretary of State; but he was firm in his refusal, and held the properest language possible in answer to what was said to him. The King was not satisfied with this, but sent for Charles Townshend; but that audience had no other effect than a confirmation of what his brother had said in both their names.

I understand the arrangement now is — Duke of Grafton and General Conway, Secretaries of State; Dowdeswell, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Rockingham at the head of the Treasury; Lord Winchilsea, President; and Egmont to stay where he is.* I will send what further particulars I get

* The change of government was complete. "I do not remember, in my time," writes Lord Chesterfield (*Letters*, vol. iv. p. 401.), "to have seen so much at once as an entire new Board of Treasury, and two new Secretaries of State, 'cum multis aliis.'" To add to their difficulties, none of the new ministers had ever held a post of business, except Lord Winchilsea, who was on the verge of eighty. Lord Rockingham had been merely a Lord of the Bedchamber. It was on withdrawing from the Court that he had addicted himself to politics. His singular incapacity for speaking in public caused him to be called the silent First Minister, being the only one known in English history since the days of Lord Godolphin; and although, without the great abilities of that statesman, he had the same "incorrupt and sincere way of managing the concerns of the Treasury, which created in all people a very high esteem for him."—(Burnet, vol. i. p. 478.) Like Godolphin, he loved gaming; and his singular wager with Lord Orford, on a race between two

1765. by the post to-night. Lord Halifax, Mr. Grenville and I shall dine together to-morrow; and if I shall not be troublesome, I will wait on your Grace at Woburn on Friday, and will tell you what plan we think advisable to pursue, and receive your commands as to the conduct to be observed hereafter; for I hope and believe that the union that has subsisted in power will still continue, and that it will, at last, be productive of the most salutary consequences to this unhappy country. I am, with the truest respect, ever

Your Grace's most faithful and
most obedient servant,
SANDWICH.

Lord Townshend told me he heard that Lord Despencer was to be removed from his office; I suppose that is either in concert with Lord Bute, to make the world believe he has had no hand in this affair, or really a proof of the new people having made conditions, that some public mark should appear of their having refused to act under Bute's influence.

geese at Newmarket, has been recorded by Horace Walpole; but he overcame this propensity on entering public life. No vice was ever imputed to him by his warmest political opponents. His character is drawn in the Introduction to this work. — (See also the note to Walpole's *George III.* vol. ii. p. 197.) Whatever may have been his defects as a minister, he holds a highly honourable place in history as the leader of the most important and influential section of the liberal party in opposition during a stormy period of nearly twenty years: and the firmness and wisdom, as well as the forbearance and disinterestedness, which he eminently displayed, under circumstances the most discouraging, prove him to have possessed some of the best, though perhaps not the most brilliant qualities of a statesman.

1765.

THE EARL OF SANDWICH TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Whitehall, July 10. 1765.

My Lord,

In consequence of the orders received this morning, Lord Halifax, and I and Grenville, resigned our seals; the latter had a very long audience, in which he asked his Majesty, several times, what complaint he had against him, to which he could get no sort of answer, except a few words with regard to the appointment of Lord Weymouth, which he understood was pressed too much upon him, and that we meant to resign if it was not complied with: in this he was told he was quite mistaken; that all we wished was, that his Majesty would have consulted his servants about the choice of a Lord-Lieutenant, and that if he had thought Lord Weymouth an improper person, no one had any thoughts of resigning on that account. The King also mentioned his former idea that your Grace had in a manner resigned when you last went out of town; but it was not very difficult to clear up that point, as I had wrote a letter to Lord Chancellor, in which I mentioned the words of your letter to me, and which his Lordship told me he had communicated to the King; it was therefore plain that these expressions were only for something to say, for his Majesty must have been sensible they were without the least degree of reality. Mr. Grenville said, in the course of his conversation, that if the measures of our successors

1765. were such as he imagined they would be, he should find himself in the necessity of objecting to them, and defending his own; in short, he gave the King to understand, I think pretty plainly, that he meant to lose no opportunity of exposing the misconduct of the new administration. When I left court Lord Gower, Lord Weymouth, and Lord Thomond were preparing to go into the closet to resign, and the Duke of Grafton, Lord Rockingham, and General Conway to receive the vacant seals. I do not understand that any one, except us three, have received as yet any letter of dismission; but I take for granted your Grace and many others will have epistles this evening from one of the new secretaries of state. The Duke of Newcastle (who, with all his followers, was at the levée) told Lord Halifax, that if the Duke of Marlborough resigned, he was to succeed him, but that he would on no account be instrumental to his Grace's dismission, and it is generally supposed that the Duke of Marlborough will not receive orders to quit his employment. I dined to-day at the French Ambassador's, where Madame de Bentheim showed me a note she had just received from Miss Wrottesley, by which I find that your Grace will not be at Woburn the remainder of this week, therefore I shall postpone doing myself the pleasure of waiting on you till I know when I shall be least troublesome; I have now time enough on my hands, and have no engagement elsewhere. As soon as Lord Gower had resigned, his staff was given to the Duke of Port-

land; Weymouth's successor is not yet known, but I believe it will be Lord Hertford; it is said as a certainty, that Lord Despencer is to be out, which puzzles me a good deal. 1765.

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Whitehall, July 10. 1765.

My Lord,

The King (after having done me the honour of conferring on me the Seals of Secretary of State) commanded me to acquaint your Grace that he had no further occasion of your services as Lord President of his Council.

I am really grieved that the disagreeable lot should fall on me to communicate it to your Grace, as I have the honour to be,

With the most unfeigned respect, &c.

GRAFTON.*

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

Woburn Abbey, July 10. 1765.
(Fifteen Minutes past Eleven, P.M.)

My Lord,

I am honoured with your Grace's letter, informing me that his Majesty had no further occasion for my service as Lord President of his Council.

* The Duke of Grafton had been Groom of the Stole to George III. when Prince of Wales. He was at this time only twenty-four years of age. Lord Chesterfield says of him and Conway, that each "has parts at least equal to his business."

1765. Give me leave to assure your Grace how sensible I am of the obliging expressions you make use of in regard to myself, and that I am, &c.

B.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE EARL OF SANDWICH.

Woburn Abbey, July 10. 1765.

I am glad, my dear Lord, that the farce is at last at an end; I have been long impatient for the *dénouement* which, I will venture to say, though miserably brought to a conclusion by the wretched authors of it, ends honourably for us, and must, I think, hereafter, fatally for them.* I shall be vastly happy to see you on Friday, and in the mean time, I must beg you to assure my late colleagues, that the same harmony which has hitherto subsisted between us, shall, on my part, be most religiously observed in future; and, I flatter myself, not in vain, for the confusion of our enemies. Be so good to send the inclosed letter immediately to Mr. Sharpe†: it is to countermand the orders I had given him to wait on Lord Mansfield, to know the day he would appoint for summoning a Committee of Council, &c.

I am, &c.

B.

* The Duke's indignation arose from his belief that Lord Rockingham's acceptance of the government had riveted the power of Lord Bute, whom the King must otherwise have given up. This was also the opinion of Lord Temple.

† William Sharpe, Esq., Clerk of the Council in ordinary.

1765.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Mistley, August 5. 1765.

My dear Lord,

Your Grace desired me to send you a line or two whilst you stayed in France, in case any events happened in your absence, that you might not appear entirely ignorant of the affairs of your own country. None have passed which have come to my knowledge, worth putting upon paper. The new ministers have made a new Board of Admiralty and a Clerk of the Green Cloth or two; the latter much fitter for their employments than the former, amongst whom there are some wrongheaded admirals, a species of animal I admire upon their own element, but not amphibious enough ever to judge right on shore. I am of Jack Mostyn's * opinion about them, who says there is as much difference between a seaman and a land-man as between a sea-horse and a land-horse. Their Board of Trade, it is said, is not yet fixed, except Lord Dartmouth for its head, who I don't hear has yet recommended Whitfield for the bishopric of Quebec. Your ambassador you will have seen in the papers has accepted Ireland; but they have not told you that the ministers have objected to his Excellency's nomination of the *amiable* Hume for Secretary, and Lord Beauchamp is to be nominally so; there will

* Lieutenant-General Mostyn, Groom of the Bedchamber, and member of Parliament for Malton. He was a cavalry officer of distinction, and had been a favourite of George II.

1765. be therefore in Ireland also a Scotch minister behind the curtain.

Leeds, Sandwich, and Halifax have been here for four or five days with me; and upon an inspection into the red-book, we have all the reason in the world to be satisfied with our numbers. In the mean time, Sandwich is as eager upon a fishing party, or shooting birds upon the river here, or at nine-pins, as if he never had or was to see St. James's again. They left me this morning, Sandwich being obliged to go to his races; and I expect Lord Tavistock to dinner, his lady and Lord Russell being in perfect health.

The new law arrangements are at a stand, Charles Yorke still doubting which is the best of the lay, and Norton having hinted to him that possibly next time they meet it may not be upon the most friendly terms.

I don't know who is to read this letter, whether French ministers or English ministers; but I am not guarded in what I write, as I choose the latter should know, through every possible channel, the utter contempt I bear them; and if the intelligence of the former is as good as it is supposed to be, they know well enough the good foundation I have for so doing.

As a farmer, I must tell you we are burnt to death, and in many places they are forced to fodder their cattle. The wheat is good every where, and they have begun cutting in most places.

I am, &c.

Richard Rigby.

1765.

MARQUIS OF TAVISTOCK TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Though your time is so precious at Paris, my dearest father, as appears by your letters which my mother has sent us; yet I cannot help taking up a few minutes, just to inform you that my wife and son are in the most perfect health imaginable; this is my most interesting news; and as to politics, unluckily I have a greater aversion to them than ever; indeed it is so rooted, that the very name is hateful to me; but my other business is, to make a request from my wife and me, that you would stand godfather to our son, together with Lord Gower and Lord Albemarle. We will be sure not to detain you in this disagreeable town, and therefore have fixed the christening for the 19th. Excuse the hurry I write in, my dearest father: I will only desire you to lay me at the Prince of Conté's feet, and remember me to Madames de Boufflers and Barbentane, if you see them, for I am sure they will partake of your pleasure in knowing that Lady T. is so well. Adieu, my dearest father.

I am, &c.

F. T.

EARL OF SANDWICH TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Belvidere, August 26. 1765.

My Lord,

Had I heard of your Grace's return before I left Hinchingbrook last week, I should certainly

1765. have taken Woburn in my way to London, but I fear now it will not be till towards the latter end of the next month that I shall be able to pay my respects to your Grace, and to receive your commands: by that time I suppose the measures of the political campaigns will begin to open, especially if our present rulers have spent enough to hold the parliament before Christmas, which I own I much doubt, as I do whether they will venture to face the Parliament at all, where they will certainly be infinitely overpowered by ability, if not by numbers.

I have not lately seen any body that knows much of the interior of affairs, but the general language seems turned to ridicule the new ministry, and to pronounce their existence to be of a very short duration. Nothing can, in my opinion, establish them but a junction with Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple: and I am convinced from very authentic intelligence, that that will not happen. Grenville, from whom I had a letter about a fortnight ago, confirms that opinion; so that I flatter myself all in that quarter is safe. The next thing then that seems to me to be wished is, that some connection should be formed between us and them. Possibly it may be already done, as I am not inclined to think that Grenville has trifled away his time at Stowe to no purpose. We saw the effects of his former journey to that place, and I have so thorough an idea of his wisdom, that I am always willing to believe he is doing material service to the cause in which he is embarked.

I shall be very happy to know your Grace's sentiments upon these matters, meaning to shape my conduct in consequence of them; but I do not think it safe, either for you or me, to say much by the post, as I fear we are considered as suspected persons, a character I own I pride myself upon, when Government is so let down as it is in the present moment. 1765.

I believe I shall take a sail, and dine with Lord Holland, in a day or two, from whom I shall probably hear some of the language of our adversaries. I shall be very glad of such an opportunity; for their political writers are such miserable tools, that nothing is to be collected from them. The sum total of their language is, that the late ministers are rogues, rascals, and idiots, and that they sold employments, and were governed by Lord Bute; that the present people are extremely popular, and likely to be able ministers, if their unkind and cruel adversaries will but give them a little time to learn their trade. I think my interview with Lord Holland will be but an odd one. However, as I have promised him a visit, both before and since the changes, I will not be so mean-spirited as to fly the pit. I shall not, however, attempt to convert him; and I am very positive he will not succeed if he has any such design on me.

I am, &c. &c.

SANDWICH.

1765.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Mistley, Sept. 8. 1765.
(Sunday Morning.)

My dear Lord,

I hope to receive a letter from Lord Sandwich by the post to-day, to tell me that he can put off his coming here for a week, that I may have the pleasure of paying my respects at Blenheim, which I shall immediately do, if that should be the case; if he holds me to my first engagement I must defer that pleasure till another opportunity.

This morning, at seven o'clock, Harry St. John* came to breakfast with me, having left his master and the Brunswicks turning into Harwich harbour. They passed by in the Duke of York's post-coach, between nine and ten, his Majesty's coaches coming no further than Rumford to meet them. Harry tells me nothing was ever equal to the joy she is in at coming hither, which she did not attempt to disguise at home, for at Brunswick she told them all she hoped she should die in England. Her husband does not seem so elated with his journey, but has hopes of getting from hence to Paris. She says she is invited here by her brother for eight months. All we have heard of their living very ill together is true, except that of his outward behaviour to her, which is respectful and full of attention. He dances at the bal masque at Brunswick, at the Opera House with the opera girls, before her face,

* He was Groom of the Bedchamber to the Duke of York.

and makes no scruple of all kinds of infidelities.* I don't find the Duke of York and he are very fond of each other. She is imprudent in her discourse beyond measure, and before every body; so that the circumspect Lady Susan said she thought she was gone mad. Their palace at Brunswick is a miserable wooden house, poorly furnished, and Brunswick, one of the worst towns even in Germany. St. John† tells me nothing surprised him so much as the country of Hanover, which is beautiful, and cultivated almost as well as this country. I own I should have been equally astonished to have found it like Essex or Suffolk. Though English guineas, planted in any soil, will produce a good crop. Pray make my best compliments at Blenheim. 1765.

RICHARD RIGBY.

TO MR. H. S. WOODFALL, PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

The Duke of Bedford has observed for some time past, with surprise, himself marked out in the public newspapers by his title almost at full length, particularly in the "Public Advertiser," published by H. S. Woodfall. He has treated this insolence with the indifference and contempt it deserved,

* This account of the Duke was fully confirmed by the Duchess to Lord Malmesbury. (*Diary*, &c. vol. iii. p. 198.) She says "it made her uneasy, but she held her tongue." He subsequently treated her with more consideration; but his private life was one of undisguised licentiousness to the last.

† Colonel John Hale.

1765. whilst it applied only to himself. But seeing in the "Public Advertiser" of Saturday, Nov. 2. the name of a noble lady inserted at full length in the same paragraph with his own, he finds himself obliged to give the said H. S. Woodfall notice that he must expect to be treated with the utmost severity of the law, for any offence of this kind towards him, more especially should the like be ever again be repeated.

(Signed) BEDFORD.

Bath, Nov. 5. 1765.

DR. ANDREWS TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Trinity College, Dublin,
Nov. 11. 1765.

My Lord,

This day the Provost and Senior Fellows had the honour of electing your Grace Chancellor of this University, in the room of his late Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, the strongest proof they could give of the high opinion they entertain of your many great and good qualities. I shall have the honour of attending your Grace with your diploma, whenever you shall please to appoint, at which time it will be proper for your Grace to take the oath of office before the Lord Chancellor of Great Britain.

That your Grace may long and happily preside over this University, is the sincere wish of him who is, with the most inviolable respect and gratitude,

Your Grace's most obedient, &c.

FRANCIS ANDREWS, Provost.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO DR. ANDREWS.* 1765.

Bath, Nov. 19. 1765.

Dear Sir,

I was yesterday favoured with your letter of the 11th instant; and I take the earliest opportunity of returning you and the Senior Fellows of Trinity College my sincere and hearty thanks for the great honour they have done me in electing me their Chancellor, in the room of his late Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland. This mark of the good opinion of a body so respectable as the University of Dublin undoubtedly is, at the same time that it is most honourable to me, gives me the pleasing satisfaction of flattering myself that my conduct whilst in the administration of Ireland was not disagreeable to them. Give me leave to thank you, and through your channel the University, for this unexpected honour conferred upon me, and to assure you that I shall ever endeavour to contribute to the utmost of my power and abilities to the advantage and prosperity of that Society. As I propose to be in London during the sitting of the Parliament, I shall be very happy in receiving from you my diploma, at whatever time shall be most convenient to you to come there, in order to my

* The Right Hon. Francis Andrews, M. P. for Derry, and Provost of Trinity College, was a lawyer of wit and accomplishments, who exercised considerable influence at Dublin during Lord Townshend's administration. He had met with great success both at the bar and in the Irish House of Commons, and might, notwithstanding a careless licentious life, have risen high, had he not been cut off suddenly by a fever, at Shrewsbury, on his route to Ireland, in 1774. Mr. Rigby wept like a child at the intelligence of his death. (*Vide* Hardy's *Life of Lord Charlemont*, vol. i. p. 140.)

1765. taking the oath of office before the Lord Chancellor of Great Britain. I am, dear Sir, &c. B.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Trinity College, Dublin, Nov. 23. 1765.

My dear Lord,

The session of Parliament seems to promise to be an easy one to Lord Hertford, though there is discontent lurking in the breasts of some of the oldest and steadiest supporters of Government, owing to the sacrifice which is daily making to popularity, and the profusion of public money given away in jobs, to the amount of 114,000*l.*, more than double the sum which your Grace would let them have in your last sessions. How my Lord Lieutenant could at present prevent it, is indeed another question; but of these matters, and the real situation of Ireland, I have much more to say when we meet. I am upon the civilest terms possible with the castle, where Lord and Lady Hertford, as they have reason, for ever sound your praises. I frequently make one at the loo-tables with his Excellency, where we liberally play for the sums that the English newspapers say the Duchesses do at Bath, for we play unlimited half-guinea loo with Mrs. Lumm, who loses two or three hundred on a night; and Mrs. Fitzroy is very angry she does not win it; but she is delighted at it, and at its lasting all night.

I very much approve of the resolution of your congress, in beginning a brisk attack the first day of the session; but I hope to see you at Woburn some days before that. I go to Lord Farnham's

to-morrow for a week's shooting, and propose re- 1765.
turning to England five or six days after that.

RICHARD RIGBY.

MR. GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Bolton Street, Nov. 28. 1765.

My dear Lord,

I hear from several hands, that the present administration have determined to advise the King to make a full speech at the opening of the session on the 17th of next month, and to have an address in answer to it before the recess, notwithstanding the many declarations which have been industriously propagated, that there was to be no address, nor any other business whatever (except moving for the new writs) till after Christmas. If this is attempted, it can only be done with a view to surprise, from a persuasion that our friends will be absent till after Christmas; and it can only be prevented by their attendance on the 17th; for which purpose I think as many of them as is possible should be apprised of it! It is said, too, that they are resolved, if possible, to repeal the American tax. This is all the public news which I have heard with any degree of authenticity, upon which I shall reserve my comments to another occasion. The town is still very empty, but there are many reports, and much air of mystery amongst the few who are here.*

* The meeting of Parliament took place on the 15th December, in order that the new Ministers might be selected before it met

1765. The very obliging concern which your Grace and the Duchess of Bedford so kindly expressed for us, upon account of Mrs. Grenville's illness, would make us inexcusable if we did not return our sincerest thanks for it. She bore her journey to town surprisingly well, and was much the better for it. She has continued to mend gradually, but slowly ever since, till within these three last days, when she has not been so well.* We both desire to present our best compliments to your Grace, and to the Duchess of Bedford, upon your election to the Chancellorship of Dublin, and most heartily wish that it may be as agreeable to you as every circumstance which can contribute to your honour and satisfaction will always be to, &c.

GEORGE GRENVILLE.

EARL OF SANDWICH TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Berkeley Square, Jan. 6. 1766.

My Lord,

As our political campaign is now near

for business in January. The notice taken in the King's speech of the American disturbance did not extend beyond an intimation of the great importance attached to the subject by the Ministers. The same moderation was not shown by Mr. Grenville, who moved an amendment treating the Americans as rebels, and calling for immediate and most energetic measures on the part of the Government for enforcing their submission. Lord Suffolk moved a similar amendment in the Lords, which was supported by the Duke of Bedford, who acted with his usual zeal in concert with Mr. Grenville during the few days that the session lasted.

* Mrs. Grenville was the only daughter of the celebrated Sir Wm. Windham, and therefore sister of the Earl of Egremont. She was a strong-minded, probably an ambitious woman, and was believed to exercise great influence over her husband's political conduct. Her excellence as a wife and mother, and the purity of her domestic life, caused her to be respected by all parties.

opening in earnest, I take the liberty to trouble your Grace with informing you, that after having seen and consulted Lord Halifax, Mr. Grenville, and Lord Suffolk, who are the only principal performers I have been able to see since my return to town, we are all of opinion that a question and a division is very advisable in both Houses the first day of the session. I do not think it discreet to enter particularly into our ideas of the nature of our question by the post: but if they should know that we are determined to give them no rest, it is a matter of very little consequence. We understand your Grace intends to be in town on Saturday night; and as it is of great importance to the management of our business in Parliament to communicate together a day or two before the day of action, we wish your Grace would give us leave to send to those who dined at Lord Suffolk's, the day before the opening of the session, to attend on you for half an hour at Bedford House, on Sunday evening, to consider of the method of conducting our operations on Tuesday.* 1766.

* The Parliament met on the 14th; and the very first debate revealed the weakness of the Ministers, and the insecurity of their tenure of office. America was evidently the pivot on which their fate was destined to turn. They had to encounter energetic and able opposition: nor was this all; the conciliatory policy proclaimed by General Conway in the House of Commons, at once alienated the Court; and as early as the 31st of January, a division took place, in which the Ministers had only a majority of 9; the grooms of the bedchamber being among their opponents. This fact throws some light on the negotiation detailed in the next page. Walpole's account of it (*Memoirs of George III.* vol. ii. p. 294.) is unfair to the Duke of Bedford. It was no eagerness for place or patronage, but the strong feeling which the Duke entertained on

1766. It is generally believed that Mr. Pitt intends to come to town. Grenville says he does not know that he will, or that he will not, but be that as it may (and indeed I take it to be very doubtful), the part he will take will make no alteration in the conduct of any of those who have already acted with us, or who we have reason to think are our friends, &c.

SANDWICH.

(Endorsed Feb. 18. 1766.)

MINUTES MADE BY H. R. H. THE DUKE OF YORK, TO BE MENTIONED ON MY PART TO HIS MAJESTY.

On Friday, the 31st of January, the Earl of Suffolk told me that the Earl of Marchmont, by authority of a person very considerable in Government, had desired him to know, of Mr. Grenville and me, whether a channel opened through the Earl of Bute, for a negotiation with the King for a change of administration, would be acceptable to us. The expression made use of was, Lord Bute was only to open the door. The answer we made, that very night, was in these words: "That any message brought to us by the King's order would be received with that duty and respect which was due to it, and all attention be paid to it, from whatever channel it should come." Some day in the

the necessity of putting down the American disturbances that overcame his repugnance to any dealings with Lord Bute. On the 3d of February, Conway moved the resolutions preparatory to the repeal of the Stamp Act. The Duke of Bedford's name is attached to the Protest against that measure.

following week I was told, by the Earl of Suffolk, that our message had been delivered, and had been received with the utmost kindness by the King. Nothing more was ever said with regard to this overture; nor did we hear of any other till Sunday the 9th of February, when, about four in the afternoon, Mr. Grenville came to my house, to inform me that he had been called on that morning, by a friend of his and mine, to know whether he would consent to a meeting with Lord Bute, but insisted on his own name not being mentioned. Mr. Grenville replied that, provided I approved of it, he, in conjunction with me, was ready to agree to such proposal, and promised to inform him of my sentiments in relation thereto. I agreed to this, and appointed to call on him (Mr. G.), at his house, that evening. I dined at Lord Lorne's. After dinner, Sir Lawrence Dundas desired to speak to me apart, to inform me that a friend of his, whom he did not name, but I suppose to be Colonel Grœme, had told him that morning, viz., that he usually went to the King after the debates in each House, to report them, and the numbers on the divisions. He told them that he never saw the King so affected as he was at the result of the last great majority in the House of Commons, and that he believed he wished for nothing more than to be able to change his administration. This Sir Lawrence desired Mr. G. and I should be informed of, which I promised, and did that evening. On Monday, February 10th, as I was going down to 1766.

1766. the House, I met in St. Martin's-lane, about two o'clock, a servant of Mr. Grenville, with a note desiring me to come to him, as the interview with Lord Bute was to be immediately, at Lord Eglinton's house. That morning I drove directly to Bolton-street, where I arrived soon after two; but Mr. G., thinking Lord Bute would be gone, declined going there at that time. Had we gone, we should have found Lord B. there till half an hour after two. This failing, the meeting was appointed for Tuesday night, at half-past nine, but by some mistake Lord Bute did not come. However, Wednesday the 12th, we met at a little past one; and after some general discourse, and endeavours to account for the mistakes that had been made, the two former days, Lord Bute began with desiring that what had already passed might be buried in oblivion, and that all honest men might unite in doing the best they could, in this critical time, for the service of their King and country, and professing his desire to co-operate to that end. To this Mr. G. and I agreed, and added, that provided his Majesty would permit us to tread the same paths we had before taken, during our administration, we would do the utmost in our power to assist his Majesty in this critical time. I added that, though it did not so immediately affect me as others (being absolutely determined to take no employment), yet that none of us could think of again entering into his Majesty's service without being well assured that it would be perfectly agreeable to

him. This Lord Bute said he approved of; but could give no positive answer to it, not having seen the King for many months past. We parted with a desire, expressed of all sides, to contribute to the utmost of our power to relieve our King and country in the present exigency. Hearing nothing of any sort from Lord Bute, on Monday 17th I took the liberty to speak to the Duke of York upon the circumstances of the present times. A *précis* of what his Royal Highness thought proper to mention to the King I have now by me *, in his own handwriting, dated February 18th, which was done with the concurrence of Mr. Grenville, and was related, and I believe left with his Majesty in writing on the 18th, and was again repeated by the Duke on the 19th, as he told me that day in the House of Lords, and was graciously received. 1766.

* "The Duke of Bedford expressed the greatest anxiety on account of the very critical situation in which this country stands at present; that, should his Majesty be inclined to pursue the *modification*, instead of the *total repeal* of the Stamp Act which his Ministers intend to propose to Parliament, the Duke of Bedford will be happy to receive his Majesty's commands for his attending him; and offering in the most dutiful manner his assistance on the *present important occasion*, through such channel, and at such time, as shall be most agreeable to his Majesty." — *Bedford MSS.*

1766. LORD HOLLAND TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

My Lord, March 29. 1766.

I know too much of your Grace not to entertain, and retain as long as I live, the greatest and a most sincere respect for you.

What might be supposed to interrupt it, has been owing to what the honestest men are subject to — misinformation from those who are far otherwise. But this is no excuse, my Lord; and therefore I dare say it would be awkward to your Grace to come here.

Lord Gower has been very essentially obliged to me. Mr. Rigby (whose behaviour has cost me more than any other thing that has ever yet happened) I loved as much as I did my brother. From the year 1755, I lived in the utmost intimacy with your Grace and all your family; and upon my honour, on the strictest recollection, I can say, that I never did, either in word or deed, give the least cause of offence.

Lord Sandwich's friendship (which he still professes) did not extend far enough to make him, at my desire, ask your Grace's reasons.

I do not now wish to know them. They can be no other than what I have suggested.

I am extremely sensible of the honour done my son, and will contribute (besides dying very soon) to what may give the young people great affluence.*

* The marriage of his son Stephen, afterwards second Baron Holland, with Mary Fitzpatrick, daughter of John, Earl of Upper Ossory. The only issue of this marriage, the late Lord Holland, and his sister the late Miss Fox, were among the most attached friends of the Bedford family.

I will come into whatever they shall propose, and will see (for I can't wait upon them) Lord or Lady Waldegrave, or Mr. Vernon, at any time, or whatever man of business your Grace or Lord Ossory may think fit to send to me, whenever you please. 1766.

I again beg your Grace to believe that no disrespect to you makes me decline the honour of your visit. I should not be wanting to your Grace, but I cannot answer that I should not be too warm when Lord Gower or Mr. Rigby might be mentioned. Nor would any excuses drawn from Mr. Grenville's influence

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be worthy of your Grace to make, or me to hear.

If when I have again said, as I do, that upon my word and honour I have been in no fault towards your Grace, your information still leaves you in any doubt, I shall be glad to hear it; if not, it is unnecessary; for I have no other opinion of your Grace than what may be true of the honestest and worthiest man God ever made.*

I am, &c.

HOLLAND.

* The Duke of Bedford had, in common with the other Ministers, insisted on the disgrace and dismissal of Lord Holland, as a creature of Lord Bute, during their altercations with the King in the preceding May (1765). Mr. Rigby treated him with a harshness almost brutal, which this letter proves not to have been sanctioned by the Duke. They all greatly overrated the closeness of Lord Holland's connection with Lord Bute. The public made the same mistake, and Lord Holland thus incurred much undeserved reproach, the effect of which embittered the latter years of a life already heavily clouded by ill health and disappointment.

1766.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO LORD HOLLAND.

Streatham, March 29. 1766.

My Lord,

When I proposed to Mr. Fox my calling upon you at your house, I had no thoughts of entering into the discussion of any particulars which might have been disagreeable to either of us, but to have confined myself solely to what might have relation to the mutual happiness of two persons for whom we are both mutually concerned, and to have looked forward towards the promoting that harmony and good will towards each other which the union betwixt our families might naturally have produced. But as your Lordship seems to decline at present the seeing me at your house, and as Lord and Lady Waldegrave and Mr. Vernon are gone out of town for some time, I know no better expedient to bring matters to a speedy conclusion, than for the Duchess of Bedford to call on Lady Holland to-morrow, who will report to me your intentions with regard to the intended marriage, which I flatter myself will be productive of much content to your Lordship and Lady Holland, and of much happiness to the parties themselves. I am, &c.

Bedford.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD. 1766.

White's, past Nine o'Clock,
Thursday Night, April 24. 1766.

My dear Lord,

The transactions of this day in the House of Commons have been so curious, that I cannot help troubling your Grace with a short account of it. The business of the day was to go upon the American regulations, as they are called. But some petitions relative to the importation of foreign sugars being presented, and witnesses being examined upon them, that business did not come on.

However, in the course of this matter, Mr. Pitt made a speech, a kind of farewell speech, in which he told us he was going, on account of his health, first to Bath, and then to a place still farther off; that he did not know when he should return again into that House; but that he wished, for the sake of his dear country, that all our factions might cease; that there might be a ministry fixed, such as the King should appoint, and the public approve; that men might be properly adapted to the employments they were appointed to, and whose names were known in Europe, to convey an idea of dignity to this Government both at home and abroad; that if ever he was again admitted, as he had been, into the Royal presence, it should be independent of any personal connections whatsoever; with plenty of recommendations to unanimity, virtue, &c. When the House was rising, Pitt again got up, and gave notice that to-morrow he should renew a motion which he had made late at night the last day of the general warrants, and which he

1766. then withdrew with the leave of the House, the tendency of which is to make the law more general than to libels, as it now stands in our resolution; and to extend the prohibition of them to all cases whatsoever; and to have this done by bill, if possible. George Grenville got up to approve of this idea, and from what he said drew up Sir William Meredyth*, who abused Mr. Grenville absurdly and unreasonably, and claimed all the merit of this great service done to his country as due to himself alone. Pitt then rose again, wondered at Meredyth's violence, and declared that he adopted his idea of improving upon the resolution the House had already come to, from what had fallen from Mr. Grenville, not from him; and then proceeded to justify Lord Temple from the imputation which had been thrown out, as if his Lordship had encouraged Wilkes in his writing "The North Briton." So that to-day your Grace will perceive Pitt and and Grenville have joined in a justification of Lord Temple, and agreed upon a measure, which one will move and the other second to-morrow.

The ministry look, as you may imagine, a good deal dismayed to-day. What is to happen, in consequence, God knows.

You must excuse this, as wrote in a great noise and hurry, and without having eat a mouthful all day. I am, &c. &c. R. RIGBY.

* A commissioner of the Admiralty, and member of Parliament for Liverpool. He became a frequent speaker in the House, but never an influential one. — His fluency and information, though remarkable, hardly compensated for his tediousness and want of tact.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD. 1766.

St. James's Place, May 31. 1766.

My dear Lord,

Very little news stirring since your Grace left this town; only the difference is said still to subsist between his Majesty and his ministers, about the allowance to be settled on the Duke of York and his brothers. No message is yet come to the House of Commons for the Princess's fortune; so that yesterday, when we had gone through all the bills and other business in our House, and the question was put to adjourn till Monday, I desired to know the meaning of such short adjournment, as it is always our custom to adjourn for some days, till your Lordships have gone through the bills, and I moved to adjourn for a week. This made Conway confess that a message was intended to be sent, either on Monday or some early day, for the Princess's money. I observed again, that it was very strange and unusual treatment of Parliament, to bring a message of that sort on the very last day of the session*, and that too without seeming to intend to give any notice of it; and I insisted upon knowing if that was all the demand and all the business which was to be brought on. He then

* General Conway had on the same ground privately objected to the measure; but the Duke of York, who was tampering with the Opposition, unhandsomely insisted on it. The Ministers had made the promise to the King without acquainting Conway. Subsequently the King prevailed on the Duke of York to give up the point until the next session. —Walpole's *George III.* vol. ii. p. 328.

1766. declared that he was bound for nothing else but the Princess's fortune; he could not answer for other people. I am told, since that, his Majesty absolutely insists that his brothers shall be inserted in the message, and that Conway means to avail himself of the pretence of his illness in the country when Lord Rockingham consented to this measure, and will not attend it. The Chancellor of the Exchequer is taken or shams sick also upon the subject: so who will bring it, or what they will make of it, God knows: but there is certainly fine work at court about it; and I will endeavour to make some more in the House of Commons, when it comes there. We have nothing but rain here, and I hope you have better weather at Woburn; that will let you get on horseback. I enclose you *Tom Bedlam's* Letters to the Princess of Brunswick, and am, &c. &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

St. James's Place, June 4. 1766.

My dear Lord,

I should have sent your Grace a short account of the House of Commons last night, but we kept them sitting till past ten o'clock, and then I found, when I had dined, it was too late to write. I made my motion *, of which Lady Betty has in-

* This motion was, that the Parliament should not be prorogued, but kept sitting by short adjournments, to wait for news from America. The ability of the speakers on the Opposition side may have made the debate disagreeable to the Ministers. Wal-

formed you, for she approved of it, and Lord Frederick Campbell * seconded me, and I was well supported by most of the ablest people left in town: such as Nugent, Lord North, and Dr. Hay †, Thurlow, and Wedderburn, the last of whom, I think made one of the best speeches I ever heard in my life. Wit, oratory, abuse, in short every proper ingredient for a popular assembly, were mixed in it to perfection. I do assure you I never saw a set of gentlemen receive so thorough a dressing in my life as the ministers did yesterday, nor a set of men defend themselves, their colleagues, or their measures, worse than they did, Conway excepted, who late at night, upon the second debate upon the King's message ‡, and after we had bastinadoed him till he felt, spoke well, and with a good deal of spirit. I did not think proper to divide upon my question, but we had two divisions upon the message; the first upon the form of our proceedings, the second upon an amendment proposed by Augustus Hervey §, which I

1766.

pole says that the motion was easily overruled. — (*Memoirs of George III.*, vol. ii. p. 329.)

* Second son of the Duke of Argyll, member for the Scotch burghs of Renfrew, &c.

† Dr. Hay was an advocate at Doctors' Commons, and eventually became the Judge of the Admiralty Court. He was a very ingenious and spirited speaker. He took an active part against Wilkes in the debate on general warrants, although previously his warm friend and constant associate. The irregularity of his private life is supposed to have drawn him into embarrassments that hastened his end. He committed suicide in 1776.

‡ A message from the Crown, asking a portion for the Princess Caroline, on her marriage with the King of Denmark. — (Walpole's *George III.*, vol. ii. p. 330.)

§ Member of Parliament for Saltash, afterwards Earl of Bristol, a naval officer of merit, but an inconsistent politician.

1766. seconded, to enable his Majesty to advance some money now to his brothers, if he thought fit. We made as bad a figure in numbers as the ministry in debate, for we could muster but 37 for the Princes against 109. M'Kenzie, Lords Marchmont and Warkworth, with their friends, went away; Colonel Graham voted against us; so did Lords Howe and Granby; and Lord George Sackville spoke stronger against making the Princes of the blood independent than any body. As the matter of the message has ended, it has turned out an affront to the Duke of York and his brothers, instead of an advantage; and I think it appears plain that his Majesty has been got the better of by his ministers; though I am not sanguine enough to expect any consequences from its being so.* Notwithstanding some female politicians, with whom I played at loo, and supped, the night before last, would persuade me otherwise. It is not yet certain what day the Parliament is to rise; either Friday or Tuesday certainly; and it will not be a great while before I pay my respects to your Grace at Woburn. It rains pouring here; I hope you have better weather there. I have great reason to believe the ministers are pushing very hard to make an example, and that Eglinton† is

* Lord Lyttleton's speech in the House of Lords, which entailed the establishment upon the issue of the Princes, is printed in the recently published memoirs of that nobleman (vol. ii. p. 713.), in which he states, that "he must think the Crown ill advised in this matter. It was a saying of the great Lord Treasurer Burleigh, that he hated to see the royal treasury swell like a distempered spleen, when the other parts of the commonwealth were in a consumption."

† Alexander, the tenth Earl of Eglinton, one of the lords of the bedchamber: he was murdered in a fray with a poacher, Oct. 1769, He seems to have been an incon-

the person aimed at. His brother * voted with us last night. I am, &c. 1766.

RICHARD RIGBY.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

(Extract.) Navestock, Wednesday, June 25. 1766.

Lord Chief Justice Camden told me that himself and the three other Judges of his court are all informed against, before Justice Fielding, for wearing cambric bands, contrary to Act of Parliament. The informer is one Brecknock, an author, whom the House of Lords sent to prison for writing "Droit le Roy." † I am afraid their Lordships must pay the penalty of five pounds each, if the Justice allows the credibility of the witness, who will swear to their bands being made of cambric, at the distance he was at across the court of Common Pleas.

They are in the midst of their hay here, and delightful weather. Lady Betty desires me to thank the Duchess for her letter. She will write very soon.

I heartily wish this may find your Grace out of all fear of the cursed gout, and am ever, &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

sistent politician; but he had great merits as a Scotch landed proprietor and practical agriculturist.

* The Hon. Archibald Montgomery, Equerry to the Queen, and member of Parliament for the county of Ayr.

† A stupid tract, advancing the pretensions of the Crown to extravagant rights. The author was a worthless adventurer, who some years after was hanged for his share in a murder in Ireland.

1766.

MR. GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Wotton, July 15. 1766.

My dear Lord,

Though I know nothing authentic concerning the present extraordinary crisis of the public affairs that is worth troubling your Grace with, yet I cannot let any more time pass without telling you the little that I have heard about it. I hear from town that the measure of sending for Mr. Pitt was a sudden resolution; that Lord Bute disdains having any thing to do in it; that Lord Chancellor wrote to him yesterday se'nnight, by the King's commands, to come to town; that he came on Friday, about two o'clock; saw my Lord Chancellor and Lord Camden that evening; and went to Richmond, where he was with the King from eleven o'clock to two on Saturday; but I do not find any one pretends to say what passed. My brother, Lord Temple, was an entire stranger to this whole transaction, and knew nothing of it, except from the public reports, till Monday morning last, when he received a letter from Lord Chancellor, signifying to him the King's commands to come immediately to town, but opened nothing more to him. He set out accordingly that morning, and called upon me for an hour at Sir William Lee's (where I dined that day), in his way to London. I found he did not know what had passed, nor what was intended to be done, and I have not yet heard from him since his arrival in town. In this situation I must wait for more information, before I can make any judgment

of the plan that is to be formed, either with regard to measures or men; and can only repeat, in the mean time, what your Grace has frequently observed to me for some years past, that it becomes indispensably necessary, for the safety of the King and of the kingdom, that some solid and permanent administration should, if possible, be established, which might not be liable to these perpetual changes, which cannot but essentially weaken as well as disgrace the Government. What prospect there is of that happy effect, from the arrangement which is now making, I will not pretend to determine. Your Grace may, perhaps, have heard some more particulars from your friends in town, which may better enable you to judge of it; if that is so, your opinion will certainly have the utmost weight with me*, from the sincere respect and attachment with which I have, &c. 1766.

GEORGE GRENVILLE.

* The negotiations to which this letter refers lasted a fortnight longer, when Lord Rockingham's administration was succeeded by Mr. Pitt's, the Duke of Grafton being named First Lord of the Treasury. The stormy altercations that followed between Mr. Pitt (not then made Earl of Chatham) and Lord Temple are described by Walpole (*Memoirs of George III.*, vol. ii. p. 342.), and an impartial abstract of them is given by Mr. Adolphus (*History of George III.*, vol. i. p. 233.). Lord Temple, as usual, published a pamphlet in defence, or rather in praise, of himself; of which Lord Chesterfield observes very justly, "it is very scurrilous and "scandalous, and betrays private "conversation. My Lord says, "that in his last conference he "thought he had as good a right "to nominate the new ministry "as Mr. Pitt; and consequently "named Lord Gower and Lord "Lyttleton for cabinet council "employments; which Mr. Pitt "not consenting to, Lord Temple "broke up the conference, and in "his wrath returned to Stowe, "where I presume he may remain "a great while, since Mr. Pitt "will neither be able nor willing "to send for him again." (*Let-*

1766. DUKE OF BEDFORD TO EARL GOWER.

Woburn Abbey, August 17. 1766.

My dear Lord,

On my son's arrival here last night, he informed me of the following particulars: — That on Thursday he received a message from the Duke of Grafton, desiring to see him the next morning. That he begun the conversation with apologies for troubling him in an affair of this nature, to which he knew he had a dislike, but that he thought it better to communicate through him his thoughts to me, than through underlings. He dwelt long on his good wishes and regard for me; and that, though we had differed essentially in Parliament, yet he hoped that he had never been wanting in his personal behaviour to me. That he was desirous of knowing how I stood affected towards the present administration, from whom he had an offer to make through my channel to your Lordship, but he desired to be understood that it came from them, and not from the King, to whom they would propose it, should it be acceptable to you and me. That upon Lord Egmont's resignation, they wished to see you in his place at the Board of Admiralty.* Upon Lord Tavistock's throwing out, at a distance, his desire of knowing whether this was the full extent of the proposals to be made to me, or whether my

ters, vol. iv. p. 429.) Lord Temple was certainly treated very superciliously by Mr. Pitt, and being of an equally defective temper, these differences soon became irreconcilable. If Walpole is correct, Mr. Pitt would have given the lead in the House of Commons to Mr. George Grenville, had General Conway refused it; and, from some of the expressions in this letter, it would appear that the offer would have been favourably entertained by Mr. Grenville.

other friends were likewise to be considered: the reply was, that this was the only offer to be made at present, but that Lord Chatham's idea was a great and conciliating plan; but not to turn out those, who should be willing to act with the present administration, but that time was requisite to bring this about. That he himself (the Duke of Grafton), notwithstanding his great attachment to Lord Chatham, would not have entered into administration with him, had he not a confidence that this plan was to be pursued. I have now given you a faithful narrative of the facts, as related to me by my son, who has read this letter. I now inclose to you my letter to the Duke of Grafton, wherein I excuse myself from being the middle-man betwixt the administration and your Lordship, and wash my hands of this business; yet I think it incumbent on me to let you know all that has passed, leaving it to your judgment to decide what you ought to do. I am, &c. B. 1766.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.*

Woburn Abbey, August 17. 1766.

My Lord,

My son, on his arrival here last night, informed me of the conversation he had had with your Grace the preceding day, on your appointment.*

* Walpole (*George III.*, vol. ii. p. 355.) has grossly misrepresented this conversation to the prejudice of the Duke of Bedford. The Duke's letter betrays no eagerness for office, and is one of the few instances, throughout these negotiations, in which any stress is laid on public measures.

1766. I cannot sufficiently express to you the sensibility I felt of your obliging expressions towards me. I can with truth affirm, that my wish has been to see you high in office for the service of your country, whose welfare, I am sure, you have at heart. But, however great my personal regard for your Grace and some others in the administration may be, it can't be unknown to you how much the measures pursued in the last session of Parliament by the late, as well as the present, administration were opposed in the totality by myself and my friends. I mention this in answer to the question you put to my son, "How I stood affected towards the present ministry?" Upon this account, I hope your Grace will excuse me from making myself the middle-man betwixt the administration and Lord Gower, who, upon the hearing immediately from your Grace, will be himself the best judge how he ought to act in this matter. I have the honour to be, &c.

B.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

St. James's Place, Sept. 25. 1766.

My dear Lord,

Yesterday, at a very numerous meeting of East India Proprietors, it was carried against the opinion of the Directors, to make a dividend of ten per cent.; if this question was final, I apprehend

that the stock will rise considerably.* There was held also yesterday, a *grand* council upon the high price of corn, and the various tumults occasioned by it all the kingdom over.† 1766.

Your Grace will not imagine that I attended at it, but I am told the result was, a proclamation should be issued, to prevent the exportation. How legal this advice to the Crown is, may be the subject of future consideration. The Act of Parliament, which was passed two years ago, in the time of your administration, empowering the King and Council to issue such proclamation, shows what the sense of the legislature was at that time; but that is no reason, I confess, that it should be their opinion at present.

To-morrow Lord Bristol will be declared in council Lord Lieutenant; and Lord Hertford kisses hands for Master of the Horse. I saw Lord Northumberland at White's last night, who goes from Newmarket to Paris out of place. Lord Beauchamp is made Constable of Dublin Castle for life, in the room of an old Mr. Hatton. Lord Hertford gives Mr. Hatton a thousand pounds to quit his employment, which was five hundred a year; a thousand more is added; and Lord Beauchamp has got it for his life. There is another job done for another son in

* This seems to have been the general belief at the time, although so rash a step on the part of the proprietors might have been expected to alarm the public, as it unquestionably was injurious to the interests of the Company. The contest which followed between the Company and Government is well told by Walpole. (*Memoirs of George III.*, vol. iii. p. 22.)

† There were several risings in various parts of the kingdom on this subject, and some lives were lost. The rioters in some places compelled the farmers to sell their wheat for five shillings a bushel.

1766. a Custom-house place, which will be a thousand a year more; in short, what with sons and daughters, and boroughs, and employments of all kinds, I never heard of such a trading voyage as his Lordship's has proved.

Lord Chatham is so ill as not to be able to go to Bath; some say, not out of his house this great while. The Chancellor was fetched from Bath for the Council yesterday: I know nothing of his return. I reconnoitred the Thanes river as I came by Luton*, and it is very fine indeed. I am told by a friend of mine, who lives in the neighbourhood of Kew, that he is oftener there than ever. And I have very good reason to believe the Earl of Chatham's horses and his do not set their heads together even so much as they did some weeks ago. He does not regain his popularity in the city, but they continue as inveterate as ever against his peerage.

I am just going to Navestock†, but send you this scrap of all that is stirring in this empty town. I called at the Duchess of Hamilton's, but had not the good fortune to see her. I am, &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

MARQUIS OF TAVISTOCK TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Houghton Park, Oct. 22. 1766.

My dearest Father,

As I had always rather have your advice upon every thing of consequence I mean to do, so

* Lord Bute's seat in Bedfordshire. The building has never been completed.

† The seat of Lord Waldegrave.

I would undoubtedly inform you of every thing I have done, in hopes of having your approbation of it. The distresses of the common people in our neighbourhood are so very great, and I think I may say their submission to them makes them so deserving of relief, that I am doing what you did a few years ago when you had a large stock of wheat by you. My crop was large this year, and yields tolerably well, so I shall begin on Monday next selling out to poor people having families at 5*s*. per bushel, under the same regulations as you did at Woburn. This will be an infinite relief to them, and very fair price for me as a farmer. I shall also buy next market-day about ten loads of rye, which they will be very glad to take of me (a bushel at a time) for the same price I shall give for it, so by mixing these together they will have excellent bread at a pretty fair price. When you set out for Bath, I thought the extravagant price of wheat would cease from the exportation and distillery being stopped, and therefore did not mention this to you, but since that time our markets have rose upwards of 3*s*. per load; I sold my own wheat for grinding (and it is not the very best) for 31*s*., and some sold for 34*s*. and 35*s*. Nothing can have been more quiet than the behaviour of our people has been, though they have suffered very much, not the smallest grumbling or discontent. I hope, my dearest father, you will approve of what I have done; indeed, my only distress was, that I should do it when it can't be done by you, for I understand from Miller you have no wheat by you: however, 1766.

1766. I am sure this will be a great help to all the county, and Woburn and its neighbourhood will come in for a share. Surely wheat must fall when the sowing is over, and then I shall carry mine to market as usual. I have taken such pains to explain my reasons to you, that I have hardly room left to assure my mother of my love. We have Lord Newbattle, Mr. Crawfurd, Lady Albemarle, and Miss W. with us, which is for us a house full of company. The weather is delightful, and Lady T. perfectly well.

T.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PRIVATE JOURNAL OF THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.*

Bath, Oct. 19th. — "That evening I called on the Earl of Northington at his lodgings in Milsom Street. After a very short previous discourse, he began a political one, wishing to see myself and friends in administration, it being necessary to get people of property and credit to give it weight and permanency. He said this was the wish of all the ministers. He said Lord Chatham's plan was to preserve the present tranquillity of Europe, to give no subsidies in time of peace, to act with vigour, to support the superiority of Great Britain over her colonies, and to restore authority to government at home. I answered positively for myself and (as far as I might do in their absence) for my friends,

* This is published in the Appendix to vol. i. of *Cavendish's Parliamentary Debates.*

that we had no factious views, that we did not desire opposition, nor to weaken the hands of government, but that we would not derogate from those measures we had approved whilst in power, and supported since we were out of the King's service." 1766.

21st. — Related what had passed betwixt me and the Earl of Northington to Lord Weymouth, who concurred in all I had said as far as related to himself."

Oct. 24th. — "Earl of Chatham made me a visit. After some short previous discourse, begun with making excuses for troubling me, but desired to know of me, whether (as he had been informed) I had whilst Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, informed the Marquis of Kildare, by his Majesty's orders, that whenever he should make a duke in England, he would make him a duke in Ireland. I replied this was true, upon which Lord Chatham said, he supposed the King had not adverted to this, but that his Majesty would undoubtedly keep his engagements. He then proceeded to express his desire, that I and my friends would take hands with administration, and recapitulated with regard to measures all that Lord Northington had said, but in a fuller manner. He declared his wish to continue the present pacific situation of affairs in Europe, that he would not advise to pay for or even court foreign alliances, but that there was *a great cloud of power in the north*, which should not be neglected. That he was for economical measures as much as any one, but that the fleet must not be neglected. That measures for the proper subordi-

1766. nation of America must be taken. That the militia must be sustained. He lamented Earl Temple's not joining with him in a consolidating plan that might have given permanence and strength to administration. That he had been sent for by no other intervention than that of Lord Northington, who had inclosed the King's letter to him. My reply to him was the same in effect (but more full) as that to Lord Northington. Upon his departure having heard, on my return from Longleat, that Lord Gower and Mr. Rigby were likely to be there, I despatched a messenger thither (Oct. 30.) to desire to see them and Lord Weymouth before they left this country. He returned with an answer that evening, that they would be with me next day.

Oct. 31st. — Earl Gower, Lord Weymouth, and Mr. Rigby, dined with me, who all approved what I had said to Lord Chatham, and it was agreed that I should send that evening to desire an interview with him, either then or the next morning. He appointed it for half-past eight that evening. When I went to him, and acquainted him with what had passed between me and the above friends on this affair, who all expressed their desire of returning, with their other friends, at a proper time, into the King's service, on the measures to be pursued, as I had stated them. I then begun, in order to avoid mistakes, with recapitulating all he had said to me with regard to measures which he argued to be just, but hoped he was not understood to intend any violent measures towards the Americans at this

time, unless absolutely necessary. I then told him that I understood that, considering the employments my above-mentioned friends had had, that they should be reinstated in employments of magnitude, and that the rest who had suffered upon our accounts, should be, as occasions should offer, provided for. That the Duke of Marlborough had had a promise of the first garter, which had been since given to Lord Albemarle. That I had had a promise of a peerage for a friend of mine, when any new peers should be made, which had not been fulfilled. That the King had likewise received favourably other applications of mine which had met with the same fate, &c. To this Lord Chatham replied with lamenting that there were hardly any vacancies, and that the King having determined on a conciliating plan, that those who would continue and act with them should not be removed. That it was said the Duke of Portland would resign, in which case the Earl of Hertford was to have his staff, and Earl Gower might be Master of the Horse. That Lord Weymouth might be made joint Postmaster immediately, and that some method might be thought on to make Mr. Rigby easy till he could be reinstated in his old place (which he had in his eye for him), or in an equivalent. His expressions of a desire to unite with me and my friends were as strong as possible, and that he wished that this affair might have a beginning before the meeting of the Parliament, and very particularly that Lord Gower and I might have immediate access to the

1766.

1766. King. I then told him that I would report this to my above-named friends, which I did accordingly on my return to my own house, without giving them any opinion of what I wished they should do. They desired not to give a positive answer till the next morning. They came to me to breakfast, and agreed unanimously that they ought not at present to accept these terms, especially as there was no immediate room for any but Lord Weymouth, and feared that many might be disgusted at no further earnest being given immediately, but wished me to explain it in such a way to Lord Chatham, as not to show their dislike of re-entering into the King's service, but that they must wait till the bottom should be enlarged.* Whilst they were with me, Lord Chatham sent a desire I would fix a time for his coming to me, which I did at half an hour from that time, no result of our deliberations being then come to. He came at the time appointed, and on

* The following note has been found among the Duke's papers. "Result of the answer to be given by me to the Earl of Chatham, in relation to the proposals made by his Lordship to me on the preceding evening at his house: — The result of the opinion which is submitted to the Duke of Bedford to convey to Lord Chatham is, that in consideration of the number of friends who either resigned or were removed from their employments at the time when his Grace and Lord Gower were dismissed from the King's service, those friends of the Duke of Bedford whom his Grace has done the honour to confer with on the present occasion cannot agree to accept for themselves, without some favours at the same time conferred on others, who quitted inferior employments. The bottom is thought too narrow on the present plan proposed, for the weight and consideration they assume to themselves without much vanity; and although they are not actuated by any factious views, yet they cannot accede to the terms proposed. —The quality of the employments mentioned for Lords Gower and Weymouth are not objected to."— *Bedford MSS.*

my informing him that my friends could not just then accept these overtures, he seemed somewhat disappointed, fearing, as he said, that by not accepting at present the bottom would be more narrowed, as the Post Office would probably be filled up. He continued in the same language of desiring to accommodate me and my friends, and inquired particularly when I meant to be in town? I replied, on Sunday night. He again absolutely disclaimed any other intervention than before mentioned upon his last coming to court, and denied his knowledge of any secret influence there, which, if exerted in political measures, must be prevented (I think this was the word made use of). This, I told him, could not be so effectually done as by the assistance of me and my friends. And I warned him of hollow friends belonging to two particular connections, viz. of Lord B. and the D. of N. We parted on exceeding good terms, and on my report of this to the three above mentioned.* 1766.

Nov. 9th. Came in the evening to London. Mr. G. Grenville came to me that evening. I told him of the interview betwixt Lord Chatham and me at Bath, but did not enter into the particulars of what had passed. He informed me of the intention to oppose the address on the first day of the session; and evinced the illegality of the embargo, by the act of the 22d of Charles II. This act I knew nothing of before. I told him I believed

* Walpole's *George III.* vol. ii. p. 369.

1766. neither I nor my friends would (as I believed) oppose the address.

11th. The parliament met. A very long amendment, arraigning the conduct of the ministry for not calling the parliament sooner, was moved by the Earl of Suffolk; but, after five hours' debate, was rejected without a division. I spoke for the address as it had been originally moved by Lord Spencer, and seconded by the Earl of Hillsborough; though I owned the conduct of ministers was reprehensible for not meeting the parliament sooner, but that it would be done improperly in an address to his Majesty, for a measure every one approved at the time it was done, there being no other remedy.* The principal speakers were, besides the above, the Earls of Chatham (who replied to me), Temple, Mornington, Lords Mansfield and Camden, who concluded the debate with some acrimony, Lord Camden taxing the other with having contradicted himself, by concluding with an opinion of the illegality of the order of council, though he had declared at the beginning of it, that, for prudential reasons, he could give at that time no opinion on that matter. Lord Mansfield denied having given an explicit opinion, though most in the House thought he had.

12th. Went to the King's levee: was graciously received.

13th. Went to the Queen's drawing-room: was most graciously received by both King and Queen.

* An account of the debate is given by Walpole, in his *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 371.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

1766.

Woburn Abbey, Nov. 29. 1766.

Lord Gower came down here yesterday, my dear lord, with a message from Lord Chatham to me, to inform me that he had the King's orders, on my being out of town, to communicate to me, through Lord Gower, his Majesty's intentions to realise immediately those offers which had been made to me by him, at Bath, in favour of my friends, provided we should be disposed to receive them. That Lord Gower should be appointed Master of the Horse, Lord Weymouth one of the Postmasters, and Mr. Rigby (though out of delicacy to him, as he showed some little inclination in this session to oppose, he did not know what offer should be made to him) should likewise be provided for to my satisfaction. That with regard to the promise to your Grace of the Garter, that it was a most delicate subject, and more proper to be looked at in prospect than in retrospect. That his Majesty had a brother, now of age, who was not yet invested with it; but that he was convinced that both your Grace and myself would be satisfied with the assurances we should receive about it. That Lord Charles Spencer might immediately have one of the sticks at court, I understand, the same he before had.

These were all the particulars he entered into, and his general conversation was much the same as to me at Bath. That the King did not design to pro-

1766. scribe particulars of any denomination, and consequently that there would not be room at present for a full reinstatement of my friends, but that it was intended to deal the favours of the crown with an equal hand to those who should have abilities and power to serve it. He said he had as yet taken very little care of his own friends, that his colleagues in office would expect to have their friends likewise considered, and that some of *Lord Bute's** must also be provided for. As I intend to be in town on Monday evening, and may probably see Lord Chatham, I wish to receive by my servant, at my arrival in town, your Grace's sentiments on this subject, and likewise instructions from you, what I am to say to Lord Chatham about yourself and Lord Charles. Lord Gower and I agree in opinion, that, if ever our friends mean to come into court, this is the properest opening we are likely to have, and that a negociation may be opened with honour; and we shall be glad to find that your sentiments coincide with ours.

I am yours,

B.

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Blenheim, Sunday Noon, Nov. 30. 1766.

My dear Lord,

I have just received your letter, and am very sorry you had the trouble of writing, as it

* This name was never mentioned but to be understood his friends are not to be proscribed.

must have hurt your eyes; as to myself, I cer- 1766.
tainly shall not join Lord Temple to oppose your Grace. I am rather surprised no place was mentioned for me, not but that I had much rather not have one at present. Your Grace will be so good as to tell Lord Chatham that the promise was a most absolute one to all intents and purposes of the next that became vacant, so that the brother was not then thought of. "' I don't in the least wonder at its being thought a delicate subject. That would be but a poor answer between man and man. However, if your Grace does receive the assurances from the King that are promised with regard to the garter, and my friends are provided for, I shall be satisfied. I hope, by assurances, are meant a promise of the garter, after the brother at least; otherwise I shall be as far off as ever. In regard to my brother, I imagine he will like the staff better than nothing; but I have sent to him at Althorp, to desire him to send to your Grace to town, that you may have his answer by Monday night. I had a letter from him t'other day, in which he says, he should not much like any place of that sort, as the expenses of a re-election would hardly make it answer.

As to Mr. Keck, I take it for granted there will be no objection to his having his pension restored to him immediately, which was 600*l.* per annum, clear money, as it was not upon the list, but paid by the First Lord of the Treasury: lastly, by Mr. Grenville; and before that by the Duke of New-

1766. castle, who had promised it should be made up 700*l.* Lady Caroline desires her love to your Grace: she has just written to Miss Wrottesly.

Your affectionate honourable servant,

MARLBOROUGH.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PRIVATE JOURNAL OF THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Nov. 28th.—Lord Gower came to dinner with a message to me from Earl of Chatham by the King's order. For the matter of it, *vide* my letter to the Duke of Marlborough of the 29th, which I showed to Lord Gower before he went to town this morning.

December 1.—Went to London, and alighted at Lord Gower's at five, P.M., when I found Lord Gower, Lord Ossory, Mr. Rigby, Mr. Vernon. I went at seven by appointment to Lord Chatham. *Vide* in the Wiltshire paper.

Précis of the conversation between Lord Chatham and me:

Recapitulation of what passed with Lord Gower.

The result of the whole was: Master of the Horse, Lord Gower; one of the Post-masters, Lord Weymouth; Cofferer, Mr. Rigby; one of the earliest blue garters, Duke of Marlborough. This last I desired might be, as he himself demanded on a positive promise, the very next, except the Duke of Cumberland's, which he waved out of delicacy to the Royal Family. My ultimatum was besides what

was agreed to, an immediate employment for Mr. Thynne: 1766.

Mr. Brand's peerage, whenever any new peers should be made.

My most ardent wishes for Lord Lorne to be made a peer.*

Earl of Essex to be at least reinstated. Mr. Keck the same.

The remainder of our friends, who had suffered on our account, to be replaced, *pari passu*, with others.

I named Mr. Vernon and Mr. Neville. The only favour for myself, that my son should be called to the House of Peers.

I mentioned Lord Sandwich as one who might be of use to the King's affairs.

I mentioned Lord Scarsdale as one who would be glad (at a proper time) to receive some mark of the King's favour.

The result of our conversation, which, at my return to Lord Gower's, I reported to my above friends. I supped at White's. Lord Lorne called at Bedford House in the morning, to whom I reported what had passed on the preceding evening on his business. I likewise saw Mr. Neville and Mr. Brand afterwards in Pall Mall, to whom I told all that related to them. Mr. Forester was likewise with me at Bedford House in the morning. At my return home at three, I found a note from

* He was afterwards raised to the English peerage by the title of Baron Sundridge, of Coombe-bank in Kent. He succeeded to the dukedom of Argyle in 1770 and died in 1806.

1766. Lord Chatham, to desire to see me at home before dinner, to give me the King's final resolution, which he accordingly did at four o'clock; and which was that the King would agree to no more than what was offered last night, upon which all further negotiation was broke off.*

TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Bond Street, Tuesday, Dec. 2. 1766.

My Lord,

Having the King's commands to communicate to your Grace his Majesty's final intentions relating to the subjects of the conference I had the honour to have with your Grace last night, I would beg leave to wait on you, my Lord, at Bedford House, any time before dinner, if convenient to your Grace, or at such hour this evening as may best suit your Grace's engagements.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CHATHAM.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

White's, Wednesday Evening, Dec. 3. 1766.

Since your Grace left us, the only news which has transpired is the Duke of Ancaster being appointed Master of the Horse to the King, that circumstance and Lord Mount Stewart's moving

* In a letter from the King to Lord Chatham, in his Correspondence, vol. iii. p. 137., His Majesty writes, "the Duke of Bedford's proposal is an extravagant one. In the next letter, the King says, "I am glad his behaviour was proper, as it gives me the strongest reason to judge that the difficulties he has made have not originated in his mind, but proceed from others."

Jenkinson's writ in the House of Commons, look like a determined resolution to avow Lord Bute. I might add, too, that in the debate on the second reading the Indemnity Bill, Sir Gilbert Elliott assisted Mr. Conway in a little scrape he was getting into with respect to the wording of the Bill, which is intended to be done in a manner to skreen my Lord Chancellor's doctrine in the best way they can. 1766.

We sat till seven o'clock, and had a very lively debate. It is committed for Friday.

An event happened also in the House of Lords. The counsel made the House wait an hour; upon which Lord Marchmont moved that my Lord Chancellor might reprimand them for making their Lordships come to the House and wait for them. His Lordship from the Woolsack did it with great severity. The Council were, Yorke, Norton, and the Attorney-General,—the last of which was so affected by the reprimand, that when he had pleaded for ten minutes, he was forced to stop short, and beg their Lordships to put off the cause till another day, for his spirits were so sunk by the reprimand that he found he could not do justice to his clients, and it was put off accordingly. The persons talked of for Master of the Horse to the Queen are, Duke of Beaufort and Lord Delawar. I asked Nugent if I might wish him joy of the cofferer's place, he denied it like one that wished or expected it.

I beg my best compliments to the Duchess, and am ever, &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

1766. EARL OF HALIFAX TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Stansted, Dec. 14. 1766.

My dear Lord,

Having been assured that in your Grace's late negotiation with Lord Chatham you was not pleased to make mention of my name, as that of a person you wished should enter again into his Majesty's service, with some other of your Grace's friends, I beg leave to know whether such assertion be founded in truth. From the part I have acted with your Grace in office, and since my dismissal from it, I am unwilling to give credit to it.

If my interest alone was concerned, I probably should not have given your Grace this trouble; but as I have some few friends connected with me, whose welfare I have at heart, I hope you will excuse the liberty I take in requesting your Grace to answer my question.

I am, &c.

DUNK HALIFAX.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE EARL OF HALIFAX.

Woburn Abbey, Dec. 17. 1766.

My Lord,

I was honoured yesterday with your Lordship's letter of the 14th inst., stating the following question to me, to which you desire an answer,—viz. whether in my late negotiation with Lord Chatham, I had made mention of your name as that of a person I wished should enter again into his Majesty's service with some other of my friends. My

answer is, that, to the best of my recollection, your Lordship's name was never mentioned, either by the Earl of Chatham or myself in any of those conferences, as I neither thought myself authorised by your Lordship so to do, nor that it could have been of any use, if I had done so, as I believe nothing was further from that minister's intention, than the reinstating in power that administration which had been dismissed in July 1765.* 1766.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

MR. GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Bolton Street, May 29. 1767.
past 12 at night.

My dear Lord,

I have had a long conversation with Lord Mansfield, who has but this moment left me; I found him quite unapprised of the contents of the Bill for regulating the East India Company dividends; but after much talk upon the subject of it, he seemed to be perfectly satisfied that the right

* The tenor of this letter confirms the inference to be drawn from the negociation to which it refers, that the Duke had for the time separated from Mr. Grenville. As to Lord Halifax, the time had passed when, instead of thus courting office, he had been courted to accept it. His brilliant administration in Ireland was forgotten. Improvidence, and, it must be admitted, vice, had reduced him to great embarrassments, from which he had no hope of extricating himself but by the emoluments of ministerial employment. He so far succeeded as to be again appointed Secretary of State in 1769, through the influence of his nephew Lord North, but it was too late. His constitution was broken, and his mind so enfeebled as afterwards to become the subject of discussion in a court of justice. He died without issue, in 1772, and his title expired with him.—(See his character in Walpole's *George III.*, vol. i. p. 273.)

1767. way would be to restrain the East India Company's dividends to 12½ per cent. during the two years of our intended agreement with that Company, instead of the present Bill to restrain them to 10 per cent. till the next session of Parliament. This has always been my idea, and has not only been agreeable to the sentiments of the proprietors from the beginning of this bill, but I understand is what they were ready to have adopted in their general court to-day. We both agreed in thinking, that if an offer to that effect were made in the Company's petition to the House of Lords, it would put the question upon the strongest ground. As Lord Mansfield's opinion appeared to tally so much with my own upon the merits and substance of the bill itself, we did not at all enter into the political or party considerations of it; and if your Grace shall see him, I should think it advisable to decline that topic entirely, as I believe there will be no sort of occasion for it, and I am convinced it was that which hurt him in the conversation with the Duke of Newcastle, of which, agreeably to the hint in your letter, I did not take the least notice, nor of any thing which passed between your Grace and me, except that I had the honour of waiting on you last night. I understood from Lord Mansfield, that he proposes to go out of town to-morrow, so that if you wish to see him, it will be necessary to send to him early.

I am, &c.

GEORGE GRENVILLE.

EXTRACT FROM THE PRIVATE JOURNAL OF THE DUKE OF BEDFORD. 1767.

July 11.—The Marquis of Rockingham and Admiral Keppel came home to dinner, as did Mr. Rigby from Grenville's. After dinner the Marquis of Rockingham informed us of the conversation betwixt him and the Duke of Grafton, with relation to the forming a new administration, into which my friends were to come. 'Mr. Rigby likewise informed us of the good temper of mind in which he found Mr. Grenville in regard to any administration which would be formed to defeat the secret influence of Lord Bute, and whose measures should be pursued conformable to his sentiments about America, though he was determined to take no part in it himself; but that he would give no answer whether his brother, Lord Temple, would accept one or not, but that he should go over to Stowe that evening. He expressed great kindness to me, and that that prevailed on him to go so far. On this report we all agreed to press Mr. Rigby to go over the next morning to Stowe, which he very kindly, though with some difficulty, agreed to do. Mr. Rigby returned, just as we had dined, from Stowe, where he had seen the two brothers, and brought a most satisfactory answer from Lord Temple of his heartiness in concurring in a plan to extirpate the influence of Lord Bute, though neither he nor his brother were thought on by the King, to be at the head of this new administration, and added, with words of great civility to myself, that he would

1767. be ready at half an hour's warning to give me the meeting at Woburn Abbey, which he jocosely called the head-quarters of the standing opposition to Lord Bute's interest. Lord Sandwich and Lord Weymouth came to dinner, after which there ensued a great deal of conversation, with much freedom and cordiality among the whole company, consisting of the Marquis of Rockingham, Earl of Albemarle, Admiral Keppel, Earl Gower, Earl of Sandwich, Lord Weymouth, Mr. Rigby, and myself, relating to the present situation of affairs, and the probability and means of carrying this great plan into execution. I had two several conversations tête-à-tête with the Marquis that day, in which he spoke with great frankness and cordiality. He and the Admiral left the Abbey between eight and nine in the evening, and he promised to write as soon as he should have seen the Duke of Grafton about the conference which we all unanimously desired he should have with the King himself.

COPY OF THE DUKE OF GRAFTON'S LETTER TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.*

Grosvenor Square, July 15. 1767.

My dear Lord,

After having delivered to his Majesty the answer which your Lordship communicated to Ge-

* In the spring of 1767, the administration of Lord Chatham, virtually deprived of their chief, had, by a series of impolitic measures, as well as by their well-known internal dissentions, involved themselves in difficulties which rendered it almost impossible for them to carry on the public business. Conway, the leader of the House of Commons, and the Duke of Grafton, the first

neral Conway and myself this morning, I was commanded to acquaint your Lordship, that the King wishes your Lordship to specify the plan on which you and your friends would propose to come in, in order to extend and strengthen his administration*, that his Majesty may be enabled to judge how far the same may be advantageous to his Majesty's and the public service. 1767.

I have the honour to be, &c.

GRAFTON.

MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM'S ANSWER TO THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

My dear Lord,

I have the honour of your Grace's letter, by which your Grace acquainted me, *that his Majesty wishes me to specify the plan on which I and my friends would propose to come in, in order to extend and strengthen his administration.*

I hope your Grace will do me the honour to explain to his Majesty, that the principle on which I would proceed should be to consider the present

minister of the Crown, were equally eager to resign.

The influence possessed by the Marquis of Rockingham over the largest section of the Opposition, pointed him out as the person by whom any fresh combination must be formed, and the Duke of Grafton obtained the King's permission to enter into this correspondence with him.

* Horace Walpole had proposed to the Duke to substitute for the words "to extend and strengthen the Administration," the words, "to form a solid and extensive Administration;" — a proposal which he says the King would not sanction; and in consequence laid himself open to the imputation of treating for a change, and refusing to make it at the same time. — (Walpole's *Geo. III.*, vol. iii. p. 7.)

1767. administration as at an end, notwithstanding the great regard and esteem which I have for some of those who compose it. If his Majesty thinks it for his service to form a new administration on a comprehensive plan, the general idea of which has already been opened to your Grace, I should then humbly hope to have his Majesty's permission to attend him, in order to receive his commands, it being impossible to enter into particulars until I have his Majesty's leave to proceed upon this plan.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ROCKINGHAM.

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Grosvenor Square, July 16. 1767.
11 at night.

My dear Lord,

I am much obliged and honoured by your Grace's letter, and shall hope in the conduct of the present affair to meet with your Grace's approbation in each step.

This morning, between ten and eleven, I received the enclosed letter from the Duke of Grafton. I went to his Grace about twelve o'clock, choosing rather to converse on the contents than to deliver an answer in writing. I recapitulated great part of what passed in our conversation yesterday, and tried to show his Grace that portion of his letter did not require an answer, after the full explanation of yesterday.

I found his Grace still desirous of an answer in writing, as he urged, to avoid any mistakes. I came home and sent him the answer enclosed. I have since had a note from his Grace, to say that my letter did not get to him till after he came out of the King's closet — and that so he could not send me an answer till he had seen the King to-morrow: by this means a little more time is gained for commenting upon my letter, and perhaps for consideration what steps now to take. I believe it is still doubtful what shall be done. 1767.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ROCKINGHAM.

MR. GRENVILLE TO MR. RIGBY.

Wootton, 10 o'clock, Thursday night, July 16. 1767.

Dear Sir,

Your servant is this moment arrived here from Stowe, and has brought to me your note, together with the copies of Lord Rockingham's and Lord Weymouth's letters, and of the Duke of Bedford's answer to the former. The negotiation has taken exactly the turn which I expected it would, when I heard the manner in which it was opened, and knew that it came through the channel of General Conway and the Duke of Grafton, who, I cannot believe, intended any real alteration either of measures or of men, whatever may have been holden out for the purpose of dividing the Duke of Bedford from me. I am extremely happy to find

1767. by your kind visits to Wootton and to Stowe, and by the copy of the Duke of Bedford's letter, that this refined piece of policy (*divide et impera*) has met from him with the treatment it deserved, and has only served to give me a very agreeable proof of his Grace's kind regard and good opinion, and of your friendly disposition towards me. I should have been greatly concerned to have seen the least change in them, not from political considerations only, but from the real and high value which I set upon them. It gives me the sincerest pleasure to learn from you that the Duke of Bedford so highly approves of the answer which Lord Temple and I gave to you at Stowe; that we concurred in the idea of an extended comprehensive administration as the likeliest to be a permanent one, and that we were ready to support such an administration, though out of office, provided that they adopted a plan of measures to our satisfaction, and particularly the capital measure of asserting and establishing the sovereignty of Great Britain over its colonies: of which I must observe, that there is no notice taken in Lord Rockingham's letter. These are the opinions in which we all agreed at Stowe, which, as you know, I have long had, and in them I mean to continue. As to whatever else may have passed concerning Lord Rockingham's other intentions, either at Woburn or in the conferences with the Duke of Grafton in London, as I am ignorant what they are, I can give no opinion about them till I learn them from the Duke of Bedford or you.

I beg the favour of you to assure his Grace that I am very sorry to be disappointed of the honour he intended me of seeing him here, particularly at this time; and it is still a greater grief to me to know that it is owing to any increase of the complaint in his eyes. I earnestly wish that he may find all the relief which he or his friends can desire from the man whom he proposes to consult. I will put an end to this long letter as soon as I have returned you my sincerest thanks for the trouble you have taken in your very obliging attentions to me, and for the assurances of your friendship, which I shall always hope to preserve, and to show you how truly I am, &c. 1767.

GEORGE GRENVILLE.

LORD TEMPLE TO MR. RIGBY.

Stowe, July 16. 1767, 5 o'clock, p. m.

Lord Temple presents his best respects and kindest compliments to Mr. Rigby, and is much obliged to him for the several copies which he has transmitted, by which Lord Temple is much edified, and from which he expects an happy result to this country. Mr. Rigby knows Lord Temple's determination was in favour of a comprehensive plan, before the insidious opening made to Lord Rockingham, and he is very happy in finding that the ruling principle in the mind of all the common friends. The Duke of Bedford's letter is writ

1767. with the spirit of a Russell. There remains nothing to add but the warmest wishes that his Grace may find all possible benefit from the person whom he is going to consult; and, if Mr. Rigby has a few days to spare, he will be most heartily welcome here.

MR. GRENVILLE TO MR. RIGBY.

Wootton, Friday, July 17. 1767.
7 o'clock, p. m.

Mr. Grenville presents his best compliments with his thanks to Mr. Rigby, for the communication of the letters which passed yesterday between the Duke of Grafton and Lord Rockingham, and those between Lord Rockingham and the Duke of Bedford. This matter seems now drawing to an issue, by the prudent and firm answer which Lord Rockingham has given to the demand made from him to specify his plan before he sees the King. The Duke of Bedford's answer and comment upon this transaction is short and clear, and in all respects becoming himself.

9 o'clock.

Mr. Grenville has this moment heard (and he thinks authentically) that the Duke of Grafton was in with the King when Lord Rockingham's letter was delivered to his Grace.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE MARQUESS OF ROCKINGHAM. 1767.

Woburn Abbey, July 16. 1767.

My Lord,

I am honoured with your Lordship's letter, and am much obliged to you for the information contained in it. It confirms me in the opinion that I had conceived of it in the beginning, that it was insidiously intended by those who begun it to divide and separate those who had lately united themselves together in parliament, to rescue his Majesty and this country out of the hands of the Earl of Bute, and to restore strength and energy to the King's government, upon a constitutional footing, free from *favouritism* and the *guidance* of a minister, not in a responsible employment. It is a great satisfaction to me, that this design has not succeeded; but that, on the contrary, it has the more firmly united your Lordships, the Duke of Newcastle's, Lord Temple's, and my friends, in one common cause, for rooting out that maxim of favourites who have got too great an ascendancy over the minds of princes, of *divide et impera*, and of changing administrations almost annually, in order to retain their unconstitutional power. I think, and I hope your Lordship and your friends will agree in opinion with me, that the present negotiation is over, unless his Majesty shall immediately send for you, in order to receive a plan of administration consonant to what was agreed to at this place; and I flatter myself that your Lordship

1767. has that favourable opinion of the honour of those who gave assurances of giving the same answer as you shall have done to any future offers that may be made to them, as to leave no doubt remaining in your mind about their religious observance of their engagements.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BEDFORD.

THE MARQUESS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Thursday night, 1 o'clock,
July 17. 1767.

I have waited till now in expectation of being able to have the honour of sending to your Grace, with some certainty, the result of what passed this morning, but as yet I have received no further information. I hope it will be agreeable to your Grace to know that, having met the Duke of Grafton at General Conway's this morning, I informed him that, in consequence of your Grace's and your friends' opinion, and the account I had received from you of the disposition of Lord Temple and Mr. Grenville, confirmed by the inclination of all the friends I had consulted, I could only now say to his Grace, that I could not proceed without knowing whether it was his Majesty's intentions that I should prepare a *comprehensive plan* of administration for his Majesty's consideration.

His Grace wished a more explicit definition of

what was meant by a *comprehensive plan*, and seemed to consider it as if it might extend to a removal from office, of *all* now in office. I answered, that I did not mean to convey that idea, not only because, in the present moment, it would be highly imprudent, but that, in fact, if a plan of administration was formed upon so violent a proceeding, it would be unwise in those who offered it. His Grace then pressed for an answer in regard to Lord Camden remaining Chancellor, to which I answered, that, till a comprehensive plan was prepared and digested, it was impossible and unnecessary to answer to any particular matter. 1767.

I then told the Duke of Grafton — but more as to himself than to be *now* conveyed, — that in case his Majesty should order me to prepare for his consideration a comprehensive plan, I must then humbly beg to have the honour of receiving his Majesty's commands from himself, that I might be the more fully authorised, and indeed that I might have the opportunity of laying before his Majesty any thoughts of such a plan, in order to restore dignity and efficacy to Government. I thought by the Duke of Grafton's manner, that the comprehensive plan would be thought too large, and might stop any further proceeding. He said, if your Grace's friends and ours had united and agreed to come in, his opinion was there would have been very great facility in his Majesty's mind to have accepted a proposition to that purpose, and asked if there was no possibility of that taking effect. I

1767. replied, the comprehensive plan was what we should abide by.

I am afraid your Grace will find this account rather confused: I believe, in matter, it is nearly accurate.

The general report in town is, that the negotiation is over, our terms being inadmissible. I have the honour to be, &c.

ROCKINGHAM.

THE MARQUESS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Friday night, 10 o'clock,
July 17. 1767.

My dear Lord,

I send your Grace a copy of the Duke of Grafton's letter in answer to mine. Your Grace, I am sure, will agree with me, in thinking there is more ability and cleverness in this than in the preceding one.

In the light it strikes me, it seems necessary to proceed, though the material point of having a previous audience of his Majesty is attempted to be stopped by this letter. I think, however, it may be right, in *conversation* with the Duke of Grafton, to press for an audience, but doubt whether we should make it a condition *sine qua non.*

I have just seen Lord Weymouth, who inclines to this opinion, and the friends I have hitherto seen concur in it. I much wish that it had been possible for your Grace during these critical periods,

to have been nearer the scene of action, as it would have been of much satisfaction to me to have known your Grace's sentiments and opinion as the occurrences arose. 1767.

Your Grace will observe in this answer of the Duke of Grafton to my letter, that the acknowledgment of the present administration being at an end is avoided: but yet I think, as this comes in answer to the very explicit letter which I wrote, and in which I *expressed, that the principle* on *which* I would *proceed* was, that this present administration was and to be considered at an end.

The very being directed to proceed is, in fact, though not in words, an acknowledgment of the administration being at an end.

If your Grace sees this affair in the same light as we do here, our next step must be to consider on a plan of arrangement; and though I am most fully persuaded, that the desire of agreeing in every thing is the object of each and of all, yet, doubtless, some competitions may naturally arise in regard to particular offices; and therefore in that, as indeed in every consideration, I very earnestly wish that your Grace would give your assistance by delaying your journey for some days, and passing a few days in London.

I hope your Grace will communicate what has passed to Lord Temple and Mr. Grenville, and will inform yourself of their ideas. What their wishes are for their friends should be particularly known.

If your Grace could come to London, the sooner

1767. it happens the better; and, I flatter myself, your Grace will easily believe that I am very anxious for your sentiments on the whole, and on the parts, of this very important business.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ROCKINGHAM.

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON TO THE MARQUESS OF ROCKINGHAM.

Grosvenor Square, July 17. 1767.

My dear Lord,

I have laid your Lordship's letter before his Majesty, and have the satisfaction of acquainting your Lordship, that the King's gracious sentiments concur with your Lordship's in regard to the forming of a comprehensive plan of administration; and that his Majesty, desirous of uniting the hearts of all his subjects, is most ready and willing to appoint such an one as shall exclude no denomination of men attached to his person and government.

When your Lordship is prepared to offer a plan of administration formed on these views, his Majesty is willing that your Lordship should yourself lay the same before him, for his Majesty's consideration.*

I have the honour to be, &c.

GRAFTON.

* Horace Walpole drew up this letter at the request of the Duke of Grafton; and if he is to be believed, "he was so lucky as not only to please all the parties concerned, the King, the Duke, and Mr. Conway, but to embarrass Lord Rockingham and his Council

LORD TEMPLE TO MR. RIGBY. 1767.

Stowe, July 17. 1767, 3 o'clock.

Lord Temple presents his best respects to Mr. Rigby, with many thanks for this second communication. By a letter he received last night from town, he had reason to think the negotiation, though not to succeed, was not finally closed on the part of the Court, who are reduced to the last extremity of distress, but never can grow sincere. Lord Rockingham's answer is as wise, as it is cautious, manly, and becoming; and so, indeed, is the conduct of all our friends at Woburn, who give a high tone of dignity to the whole transaction.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE MARQUESS OF ROCKINGHAM.

Woburn Abbey, July 17. 1767.

My dear Lord,

I am honoured with your Lordship's letter, and do much approve the answer you gave to the Duke of Grafton of your expectation of a total change of the administration, and of your treating this matter personally with the King. I think the Court is trifling with your Lordship, and do therefore advise, that your Lordship should see the King immediately. I shall put off my journey into Shropshire till Monday next, before which, I hope,

so entirely, that they could neither answer it, nor get out of the perplexity with tolerable honour or conduct."—*Memoirs of Geo. III.*, vol. iii. p. 71.

1767. that this business will be finished some way or other.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BEDFORD.

LORD TEMPLE AND MR. GRENVILLE TO MR. RIGBY.

Wotton, July 18. 1767, 10 o'clock at night.

Lord Temple and Mr. Grenville present their best compliments to Mr. Rigby, and having conferred together upon the present important crisis, in consequence of the Duke of Bedford's desire, wish to communicate their joint sentiments through Mr. Rigby, to his Grace. They refer themselves, for their precise ideas, to Mr. Grenville's letter of the 6th inst. to Mr. Rigby. They wish all success to the present negotiation upon those public principles; and when they are informed of the further particulars contained in the plan to be proposed by Lord Rockingham to the King, and of his Majesty's consent to its taking effect, if an honourable and becoming share shall be allotted to their friends, they will be ready to manifest the sincerity of their intentions, by using their good offices to induce them to accept. They will be glad to hear that previous to any plan of particular persons, stated to his Majesty for particular employments, the King may have been prevailed upon to explain his intentions, as that would give great facility to this transaction, and prevent many future ill consequences.

THE MARQUESS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD. 1767.

July 18. 1767, 6 o'clock, p. m.

My dear Lord,

I have no fresh occurrence in politics to acquaint your Grace with in the present moment; but the pleasure and satisfaction I feel in the receipt of your Grace's letter, conveying your approbation of the steps hitherto taken, and expressive of your Grace's ideas, that in the future proceeding, prudence and temper should be the rule of our conduct, and, above all, that your Grace will come to London, gives me a confidence which nothing else could do in the difficult situation which time and accident have placed me in.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ROCKINGHAM.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE MARQUESS OF ROCKINGHAM.

Woburn Abbey, July 18. 1767.

My dear Lord,

According to your Lordship's desire, I will communicate to Lord Temple and Mr. Grenville the Duke of Grafton's letter to your Lordship, and your answer thereto; and hope to bring up with me to London, to-morrow night, their resolutions thereupon. I think your Lordship is in the right in proceeding in the negotiation, notwithstanding you are not yet admitted to see the King; for your former letter having put every thing in so clear a

1767. light as to the comprehensiveness of the plan to be proposed, I think all the *chicane*, which will certainly be employed against you in the construction of the word *comprehensive*, as it appears plainly by the Duke of Grafton's letter to be the intention of the Court to do, will, with prudent management on our part, turn against themselves.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

EXTRACT FROM THE PRIVATE JOURNAL.

July 20.—Lord Rockingham called upon me about one o'clock, the hour he had appointed, and desired that a meeting of some of our common friends might be had that evening, either at Bedford or Newcastle House: chose the latter. Accordingly about nine o'clock, Lord Sandwich, Lord Weymouth, and Mr. Rigby, and myself, went there, where we found the Duke of Newcastle, the Duke of Richmond, the Duke of Portland, the Marquess of Rockingham, Admiral Keppel, and Mr. Dowdeswell. Immediately on our sitting down, Lord Rockingham began with recapitulating all that had passed since the beginning of the negotiation; and I was then desired to inform the company of the answers I had to give on behalf of the Earl Temple and Mr. Grenville, which I did by referring to the last joint note received from them, and Mr. Grenville's letter of the 16th, to which that referred; all which, as well as their other letters, I had communicated in the morning to Lord Rockingham. The Marquess, upon this, flew into a violent passion

about this answer of theirs, and said many outrageous things concerning them; to which I replied with great coolness and firmness; and for which, about two hours afterwards, the Marquess made me excuses in the outward room, in the presence of Admiral Keppel, alleging the warmth of his temper, and his resentment of Earl Temple's former behaviour to him.* This debate took up several hours, and gave me but little hopes of an happy issue. However, at last, some words were drawn up expressive of the sense I understood those words to intend, which I was desired to communicate to Mr. Grenville. This I agreed to do, though it must necessarily cause a delay for some time, the proceeding in this business, which I thought had been already too long delayed. Upon my pressing the Marquess to accelerate this business by taking it into his own hands, by asking an immediate audience of the King, many arguments were made use of by him and others against it, and no argument about it. It was said that General Conway was to take a part and considerable share in this new system, which being a new measure, never before mentioned to me, during a fortnight's negotiation, and 1767.

* Lord Rockingham, in a letter to Mr. Dowdeswell, observes: "I said that George Grenville and Lord Temple calling upon us for a declaration on North American affairs was a trap; that whatever answer we gave, they would lay it before the public with whatever colouring they thought proper, so as to throw a construction on our conduct to our disadvantage." — *Cavendish's Debates*, p. 584. Appendix. This apprehension was in some degree realised, by the account of the interview subsequently published by Almon, in the Political Register, vol. i. p. 201., which Lord Temple was believed to have corrected. Lord Rockingham and his party rated that nobleman's honour very low.

1767. totally repugnant to the sentiments of me and my friends, I objected to it, as to a civil employment, though I declared myself not at all adverse to his having a promise of the best regiment in the King's service. The conference upon this broke up about one o'clock.

July 21.—Earl Powys called upon me: whilst he was with me, Lord Rockingham came, which prevented me for near an hour from going to an appointment, I had to go to Newcastle House; Lord Rockingham was very much to the same purpose as that of the preceding night, and very much in praise of General Conway's abilities, to which I did by no means give my assent.* It concluded on both sides in thinking the negotiation at an end.

* General Conway was a brave soldier, an accomplished gentleman, a tolerable speaker, indeed an eloquent one when sufficiently excited to be thrown off his guard, but he had no pretensions to the character of a statesman. In the expedition to Rochfort, he incurred the just resentment of Wolfe, and narrowly escaped ruin, by acquiescing, contrary to his own judgment, in the fatal decision of Sir John Mordaunt; and he subsequently showed the same weakness by participating as a member of the Cabinet in a policy towards America, which no one condemned or regretted more than himself. Irresolution was with him a failing so prominent as nearly to destroy his usefulness as a public man, and with considerable talents, and an unsullied name, he enjoyed little influence after his retirement from office. He sided with Lord Rockingham, and took a forward part in the debates in the House of Commons on the American War. When that nobleman accepted the government the command of the army was conferred on General Conway, who resigned it in December in the following year. The remainder of his life he passed, we are told, at his beautiful seat in Berkshire, "happy in the resources of his own mind, and in the cultivation of useful science, in the bosom of domestic peace, unenriched by pensions or places, undistinguished by titles or ribands, unsophisticated by public life, unwearied by retirement." Some of his chemical discoveries proved very profitable to the parties to whom he communicated them. He was appointed a Field Marshal in 1793, and died suddenly in 1794.

When I came to the Duke of Newcastle, he seemed to think the same, but wished to propose to the Marquess, with whom he was to dine, another meeting for the evening. I objected to such a numerous one; but said that, if it should be first proposed to me, I could meet his Grace and the Marquess, provided that the latter and I shall each bring a second. I went from thence, at near four o'clock, to Mr. Rigby's, where by chance I met Mr. Wedderburn. I dined at Colonel Hale's, where I received a note by Lord Rockingham's servant, desiring such a meeting as I agreed to come to, to be at Newcastle House at nine in the evening. I accordingly went there with Mr. Rigby, and met the Duke, the Marquess, and Mr. Dowdeswell. The conversation was taken up by the Marquess on the affairs of America, and of the distrust he had conceived of the two brothers, and of neither of them being present to concert and explain what should be expected for their friends. However, upon Mr. Dowdeswell's proposition that the words in Mr. Grenville's letter should be understood in the sense I had given them the preceding night, it was agreed to, and we were to proceed. I then mentioned the Marquess seeing the King as soon as possible; but whilst this matter was in discussion, it fell from the Marquess, that, on account of his little confidence of the good disposition of the Grenvilles, it would be necessary for him to insist on General Conway's taking the lead in the House 1767.

1767. of Commons, and being Secretary of State.* This necessarily put an end to any further possibility of going on, and we broke up with our all declaring ourselves free from all engagements to one another, and to be as before this negotiation begun.

July 23.—In the morning I received a note from the Marquess, desiring to call upon me; to the which I replied, that I was dressing to go out, in order to call upon his Lordship and make some visits, and would therefore save him the trouble of coming to me by calling on him at two, if convenient. This I accordingly did, and found him alone. He then gave me an account of his having informed the King, yesterday, that he had no comprehensive plan to lay before him, and gave him his reasons for it upon what had passed at the two preceding meetings. Upon his mentioning the Treasury as being offered to him, the King took objection to that expression, and said he had never done it. He told the King he had no confidence in the Grenvilles' intention to support sincerely any system that might have been formed, and that General Conway had been objected to. At his coming out of the closet to the Duke of Grafton and General Conway, he stated what the King had said to him about the Treasury being *offered* to him.† He be-

* The Duke proposed that Mr. Dowdeswell, Lord Rockingham's chief political counsellor, and warm personal friend, should be the leader.

† The Marquess did not quit the King's presence without repeating his remonstrances against Lord Bute's influence. Walpole very inconsistently styles these remonstrances "silly."—*Memoirs of George III.*, vol. iii. p. 83.

haved very politely and cordially to me, and at- 1767.
tempted to give many reasons for his conduct in the late transactions, which did not appear at all satisfactory to me, being founded chiefly on reports and town-talk. This I mentioned to him, but without convincing him, and we parted very civilly, I wishing him a good journey to Yorkshire, for which he told me he should set out in a very few days.*

LORD ALBEMARLE TO MR. RIGBY.

Buxton, July 23d, Monday Evening.

Dear Rigby,

I received your express about four o'clock, which I had hardly read before one of the Marquess's grooms arrived with a packet from him.

* See the remarks on this negotiation in the Introduction, *suprà*, p. xlvi. *et seq.* and in the note to Walpole's *George III.*, vol. iii. p. 87. Walpole gives the ministerial version of the affair, and from the part he took in it, is able to supply some new and curious details. They are written, however, under strong prejudices against the Marquess of Rockingham, whom he regarded as the main obstacle to General Conway being First Minister. The Marquess, indeed, was blamed by some of his own friends, such as the Duke of Richmond, who never could be persuaded of the propriety of rejecting the King's offers, or at least of not going further than the Marquess did, so as to put all the Ministers in the wrong, by driving them to avow more of a *closet* influence than they would willingly profess to the world. (Mr. Burke to Lord Rockingham, August 18th, 1767, and *infrà*, Burke's Correspondence.) The Marquess always regarded Lord Temple and Mr. Grenville as the sole causes of the failure of the treaty, and entertained no doubt that but for their intervention he would have been able to unite with the Duke of Bedford, "who," he says, "agreed more with us in system than George Grenville and Lord Temple would like to have made known."— *Letter to Mr. Dowdeswell* of September 8th, 1767. *Cavendish's Debates*, p. 584. Appendix.

1767. Though I did not expect immediate success from the negotiation that every body seems to enter so heartily and sincerely into at Woburn, upon the same plan of removing that power from the Court and Closet that has been so long in possession of both, and I am afraid is stronger riveted there now *than* ever, I did not expect to hear of a total separation of those parties who, united, must sooner or later have attained the wished-for end.

I will not pretend to say of what use I should have been of, had I been in London: I am so far sure, and will venture to say, that I would have done every thing in my power to have prevented the fatal breach. The Marquess's letter, which is not long, as he proposes calling here in his way to Yorkshire, is full of commendations of the Duke of Bedford: he complains of the two brothers, and doubts their sincerity from the beginning: he would have been a madman if he had undertaken administration at this time. I hope G. Grenville will not: there will still be a little hope, though I despair of any good, and think the only favourable prospect of success that I have seen for some time entirely lost.

I am exceedingly happy that my conduct in this affair, as far as I was concerned, meets with the Duke of Bedford's approbation. I was very zealous in the affair. I wished the success of the undertaking most sincerely. I will own fairly that my principal reason for being so eager about it was, that I might have been closely connected with the

Bedford family in politics, as I am so firmly and unalterably attached to it in every other respect. I shall still be happy, notwithstanding this unfortunate event, if the Duke of Bedford will allow me that share in his friendship that I shall endeavour to deserve by my constant regard and attention to him and his family. Do say all this and more (my dear Rigby) from me to his Grace: you cannot say it too strongly; I cannot put it so fully in writing as I trust your friendship for me will represent it to his Grace. Water has done me good, which you will hardly believe; but I hope you will not have the least doubt when I assure you that

1767.

I am, dear Rigby, &c.

ALBEMARLE.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

St. James's Place, Sept. 12. 1767.

My dear Lord,

Lord North has refused being Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Lord Mansfield has got the seal of that office *pro tempore*. I was yesterday morning to visit his Lordship at Ken Wood, and sat several hours with him. We are to have the pleasure of meeting at Woburn, the latter end of this month. His Lordship, when he went into the King to receive the seal, last Wednesday, was detained there a great while, which has occasioned much speculation. Your Grace knows him too well to imagine he would communicate to me the sub-

1767. stance of that audience; but, in our long discourse, I thought I could pick up something satisfactory. He sent to Bedford House, to desire to see you, ten minutes after you was set out for Woburn; he might have opened a little more to you, especially if he is sincere in his panegyrics upon you, which are very high. In lamenting over the present state of factions and parties, he thinks your Grace almost the only person not too much heated to be of service to the public in any arrangement which may possibly happen to be attempted; some overtures towards which, I think I discovered may be made before the Parliament meets. The Duke of Grafton was shocked, and is much hurt at Lord North's refusal, whose reason in the closet, where he stayed a considerable time, was, that he was not able to cope with Mr. Grenville upon finances. The Ministry is more disgraced, if possible, than before. Whether they have offered it to Barrington, or any other person, I don't know*; but I am told for certain that the Duke of Grafton goes to-day or to-morrow to Euston for three weeks, and the Chancellor to Bath next Monday, for the same time.

I have had much conversation with Lord Rochford †, part of which will surprise you when I report it to you. He talks the same sensible language about Dunkirk (where he was *ordered* to go) that

* The offer was made to Mr. Barrington, and accepted; but recalled on Lord North changing his mind.

† Lord Rochford was the ambassador at Paris.

your Grace does; but it is too sensible to be relished by the people of this country, whose prejudices will make them knock any minister on the head who acts agreeably to your opinion. 1767.

I beg my best respects to the Duchess,

And am, &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

St. James's Place, Monday Morning, Oct. 12th, 1767.

(*Private.*)

My dear Lord,

I went yesterday morning to pay my respects to the Duke of Newcastle, at Claremont, not intending to have stayed to dinner with him, but he pressed me so much to do it, that, according to custom, it was between nine and ten o'clock at night before I got away. I found Lord Halifax with him, and soon perceived by his Lordship's discourse, what I had confirmed for certain afterwards, that the report of his being to have the Pay-Office is without the least foundation. He seems as hostile against this Ministry as the Duke of Newcastle, and I could not wish any body to be more so. When the Duke of Newcastle had pressed Halifax to stay dinner two or three times, and he had refused, his Grace sent him away, being impatient to converse with me; I don't repeat all the great attachment and violent love for the Duchess of Bedford and

1767. your Grace; suppose all that in the superlative degree, and I may save myself the trouble of writing and you the reading it. The Duchess of Newcastle is still more attached to you, but she was too ill to appear; and I hear, poor woman, is a good deal out of order.

Something that dropped from your Grace to Lord Albemarle, when he was at Woburn last, I found had made an impression upon the Rockinghams, as I choose to call their party or friends for shortness. In speaking of what might happen in future, you said, it seems, that it was your opinion that whoever the King should name for the Treasury, whether it was Lord Rockingham or Grenville, that ought to be acquiesced in; which implies that your Grace does not think yourself bound to support Lord Rockingham, who was the first named by his Majesty in the course of the last summer. The Duke of Newcastle asked me about this, as a matter which had alarmed their friends, who are as adverse to Grenville as ever, and determined never to submit to his being at the Treasury. I told him very fairly that I did not recollect your having said this as a matter put to your Grace to give an answer to; but I thought it very likely you might have said it—that I verily believed you would say it. That you would be as much surprised, I believed, as I was, to think that any thing binding lay upon us, in consequence of what had passed in the negotiation or conference; and surely that it must be remembered how explicitly and positively

that was settled amongst us before we parted. All this his Grace very fully assented to; but the jealousy about Grenville remaining in the minds of some of their friends so strongly, he only feared might prevent so hearty a junction as he wishes. Give him his due; he sees the folly of all this as much as I do, and is himself ashamed and vexed at it all. Lord Rockingham had been at Claremont, in his way to Goodwood, and returns to Claremont to-day. I told the Duke of Newcastle that it was my opinion we should all unite in opposition to this ministry, if we meant to show the world that we really thought them so insufficient and incapable as we were fond of saying we did, and take our chance for the consequences in case we succeeded so as to drive them out; that we had given sufficient proofs to show we were tractable and reasonable, and that it lay upon them to give at least such a proof as uniting in opposition with us, which would still be far short of the sacrifice we had made. He promised me to do his utmost for this effect. About an hour before dinner, Lord Besborough came with two friends of his from Roehampton, and soon after Admiral Keppel and Saunders; and those four had a kind of conciliabulum for half an hour; when the Duke of Newcastle told me he had been pressing opposition under my idea, that those present embraced it eagerly, and that he had little doubt but to bring it to bear that we should all appear in the same opposition on the first day of the session. Should this be the case, 1767.

1767. I think something more than exposing the ministers may be the consequence. Lord Mansfield was some time in the closet when he delivered up the seal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but no opening was given for any opinion whatsoever. The ministers have offered Lord North's moiety of the Pay-Office to *Lord Edgecumbe;* his answer is not yet come. Adieu, my dear Lord; my best compliments attend Woburn.

I am just setting out for Mistley, and uncertain if I shall dine at Navestock in my way.

I am, &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. GRENVILLE.

Woburn Abbey, Nov. 5. 1767.

Dear Sir,

I fully intended to have waited on you at Wootton immediately after my return to this place, in the beginning of September last, but was then prevented doing it, by hearing accidentally that you were gone for some time into Warwickshire. Since your return from thence, I have frequently intended the same thing, but have been so often prevented by unavoidable accidents, and of late by the badness of the roads, and, which is worse for me, by the manifest decay of eyesight, which decreases daily, which obliges me to make use of another hand to write this to you.

I should have been very glad to have had an opportunity of talking fully to you on the present state of political affairs, and of the steps it may be proper to take at the beginning of the ensuing session. If such a coalition as to unite in opposition all those who are adverse to the present administration could be obtained, it would at least have this one good effect, to render the Ministers incapable of carrying on the business through the session; though I fear a further coalition of what would be advisable to be done in future, will be impracticable. You see I am readier to pull down than to set up; that is owing to the unhappy circumstances of the times. So far as to what relates to the general plan of politics. 1767.

As to your provincial affairs, I am convinced you will do justice to my sentiments in what regards you, and consequently that I will take no step with regard to your county election, till I have heard your sentiments upon it; and whether you have any thoughts yourself of being a candidate. I propose being in town some few days before the meeting of the Parliament, but shall be glad to hear your thoughts upon these two points, by a servant who shall wait your leisure for his return here.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

1767. MR. GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Wotton, Nov. 6. 1767.

My dear Lord,

I heard with great pleasure, whilst I was at Lord Lyttleton's, your Grace's kind intentions to call upon me at Wotton, and was very sorry that my absence from home, deprived me of the honour of seeing you at that time; but it would give me much greater concern to know by your letter, that you are now prevented by an increase of the weakness in your eyes, if I did not flatter myself, from what the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough told me, when I had the honour of dining with them at Blenheim, that the present increase of the disorder would soon ripen it to such a degree as to enable the man whom you consulted in Shropshire to relieve you entirely from that cruel complaint. I need not say how ardently I wish it, from every consideration; since your recovery can scarce be of more moment to yourself than it is to your friends and to the public, in the present conjuncture. I shall always be happy in any opportunity of explaining to your Grace my ideas upon the public business, and of informing myself by learning your opinions, which nobody can more highly regard than I do. I propose being in London on the Saturday before the meeting of the Parliament; when my first care will be to wait upon your Grace, if you are then arrived. In the mean time, as you wish to know my thoughts on the present state of political affairs, I can only say that

they continue to be the same as you have long known them. I think that public measures must be the great object of every honest man's attention, and that from them we must derive our security, or shortly meet with our destruction by public measures; I mean the maintaining the peace abroad, with the utmost vigilance, by the firmest as well as the most temperate conduct, both of which I look upon as equally necessary for that purpose: I mean a settled, moderate, and frugal Government at home, to heal the grievous wounds, which contrary principles have inflicted upon us: I mean the availing ourselves of every resource to save, if possible, our sinking public credit, to restore our declining trade, and to strengthen us in time of peace, against that day of danger which the first war we are engaged in must bring upon us; I mean the asserting and establishing the lawful authority of the King and Parliament of Great Britain over every part of our dominions in every part of the world. These, my dear Lord, I am sensible are general expressions, which few gentlemen in words will venture directly to contradict; but I, as well as your Grace, mean the reality, and not the words; and can therefore only give our assent to a system of measures conformable to them. I shall readily support these principles, whoever shall propose them; and I never can support any Ministry which acts in contradiction to them. The steps to be taken at the beginning of the ensuing session must necessarily depend on 1767.

1767. the plan to be opened by the Ministry, if any is formed, and on the dispositions of mankind. I am entirely ignorant of the former; but as to the latter, it appears to me that there is a general listlessness and supineness in all degrees of men, from which I fear nothing but the stroke of calamity will rouse them. The present Ministry may probably be overturned by many events; and from their own weakness and inability, if no other cause co-operated: but the difficulty in the present unhappy circumstances, as your Grace truly observes, is how to set up what is right. I must fairly own that I do not see any means of it until the King's mind shall be possessed with a serious conviction of the danger, or the people be brought to open their eyes on the brink of a precipice, before they fall into it. My plan, however, will be at all events to acquit myself of what I owe to them and to my friends, as well as to my own character and opinions; but I believe that our attendance will be very thin in the House of Commons, from a variety of circumstances. Our provincial affairs are in a very unsettled state. As to me, I cannot think of forcing myself as a candidate upon the county; but if I were named to it, as a mark of the good opinion of my friends and countrymen, and of their approbation of my public conduct, it would be doing me a great honour, which I would endeavour to support, and deserve. At all events, I beg leave to return my sincerest thanks for your kindness to me on this occasion, referring myself to speak more largely upon it when

I have the honour of assuring you in person of the affectionate regard and respect with which I am, my dear Lord, &c. 1768.

GEORGE GRENVILLE.*

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† MR. GAINSBOROUGH TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Bath, May 29. 1768.

My Lord Duke,

A most worthy honest man, and one of the greatest geniuses for musical compositions England ever produced, is now in London, and has got two

* This appears to be the last letter that passed between Mr. Grenville and the Duke of Bedford. They had never been united by the ties of personal friendship, and their political intercourse was rapidly drawing to a close. On the 20th the Duke came to London, for the purpose of undergoing the operation for a cataract in his eye, by Wenzel. A few days after his arrival, Mr. Grenville called upon him, and the result of their interview was an agreement that each should consider himself at liberty to take any part he pleased. This being soon made known to the Duke of Grafton, the negotiations for the accession of the Bedford party to the government were renewed, and on the 18th December were completed on these terms: Mr. Conway was to remain Secretary of State till February, and then resign the seals to Lord Weymouth. Lord Gower to be President of the Council, Lord Sandwich, Postmaster General. Mr. Rigby, Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, with the promise of Paymaster on the first opportunity. A Garter to the Duke of Marlborough, and a Baron's Coronet to Mr. Brand, when any new Peers should be made, with some other less considerable places for others of the connection. The Duke would accept no place himself. (Walpole's *George III.*, vol. iii p. 140.) On the day following the completion of these arrangements, the Duke underwent his operation, which seems to have been attended with but partial success. It is a proof of the influence of the House of Lords at this period, that it was only there that the Bedford party brought any material accession of strength to the government, which lasted, however, with little alteration for nearly twenty years.

† The celebrated painter; several of his works adorn the walls of Woburn Abbey. The portrait of the Duke of Bedford prefixed to this work is from his pencil.

1768. or three Members of Parliament along with him out of Devonshire, to make application for one of the receivers of the land tax of that county, now resigned by a very old man, one Mr. Haddy. His name is William Jackson; lives at Exeter; and for his plainness, truth, and ingenuity, at the same time, is beloved as no man ever was. Your Grace has doubtless heard his compositions; but he is no fiddler, your Grace may take my word for it: he is extremely clever and good, is a married man with a young family, and is qualified over and over for the place; has got friends of fortune, who will be bound for him in any sum; and they are all making application to his Grace the Duke of Grafton to get him this place.* But, my Lord Duke, I told him they could not do it without me; that I must write to your Grace about it. He is at Mr. Arnold's, in Norfolk Street in the Strand; and if your Grace would be pleased to think of it, I should be ever bound to pray for your Grace. Your Grace knows that I am an *original*, and therefore, I hope, will be the more ready to pardon this monstrous freedom from

Your Grace's, &c.

THO. GAINSBOROUGH.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

(EXTRACTS.)

June 8. 1768. — As I dine with India Directors, and this is early post night, I choose to write to

* The eminent musical composer, born at Exeter.

your Grace at this early hour. I have seen the Duke of Grafton this morning, who has behaved to me upon the subject of the Pay Office in the most open, friendly, and obliging manner possible, and I understand that I am to kiss hands for it on Friday. 1768.

The rest of his discourse upon the present distracted times is as manly, right-headed, and sensible as possible. I only wish he would stay upon the spot and execute as well as he discourses.

St. James's Place, 10th June, 1768. — His Majesty has most graciously given me the Pay Office, and was much more than ordinarily communicative of his discourse to me at the levee. Tommy Townshend returns to take my Vice-Treasurer's place at present, and I think seems obstinately bent to carry his folly so far as to go out of employment.

The Duke of Grafton seems no otherwise hurt at this, than that he is sorry to see an old acquaintance so wrong-headed; indeed, for any public reasons, it is a measure not much to be repined at.*

* Mr. Townshend went into active opposition shortly afterwards, and took a distinguished part in the debates on the American war. On the breaking up of Lord North's administration, he returned to office, and from that period left Mr. Rigby far behind him in the road to wealth and honours. He rose to be Secretary of State both in Lord Shelburne's and Mr. Pitt's Administrations, and in 1783 was created a Peer by the title of Lord Sydney. He died in 1800. Mr. Rigby contented himself with the ease and emoluments of the Pay Office, which he enjoyed, with a brief interval, during the remainder of his life. He survived his political importance, and is reported to have fallen latterly into serious pecuniary embarrassments. However, he was able to leave Mistley to his nephew, whose daughter married Lord Rivers.

1768.

DUC DE CHOISEUL TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

à Fontainebleau, 13me Oct., 1768.

De crainte de vous importuner, my Lord, je me suis proposé de ne me rappeller votre souvenir que dans les occasions où je pourrois vous marquer mon attachement sincère, ou bien dans celui où je prévoyois que la paix actuelle qui est, j'ose le dire, notre enfant commun, seroit en danger. Il m'est revenu, my Lord, par une voye assez sure que vous aviez quelque défiance sur les sentimens de ma cour relativement au maintien de la paix entre les deux nations. J'ai cru que cette défiance étoit une occasion de vous écrire sur cette objet avec la franchise que vous me connoissez en affaires, et en vérité, que l'amitié et la confiance dont vous m'avez honoré ne me permettroit jamais de me départir vis-à-vis de vous. Nous serions ici au désespoir d'avoir la guerre; nous sommes bien éloignées d'être remis des pertes de la dernière, quoique nous travaillons tant que nous pouvons à nous rétablir, si nous étions rétablis, quant au politique il y'auroit encore bien loin au rétablissement de la finance. Le Roi est d'une âge et d'une carractère à désirer au dessus de tout son repos; son ministère par devoirs et par conscience pense comme lui; nos alliés n'ont pas plus de possibilités, à ce que je pense, de faire la guerre que nous, et nous nous flattons d'avoir assez de credit sur eux pour leur faire impression quand nous leur représentons la nécessité de la paix. D'après ce tableau, my Lord, qui est certainement

vrai, vous jugerez si nous devons causer la moindre défiance à nos voisins. Il est vrai au contraire que l'Angleterre nous en cause beaucoup, que nous craignons qu'une esprit de parti, une fougue du peuple, un intérêt ministeriel ne déterminent un évènement qui nécessairement nous plongeroit dans le malheur que nous voulons éviter. Nous sommes comme ces gens qui sont nobles et gueux, ils sont fort glorieux. Plus nous craignons la guerre, plus nous ferons bonne contenance. Et en vérité, my Lord, vû les variations continuelles de votre ministère, et les différentes par lesquelles la politique d'Angleterre a passée depuis cinq ans, vous conviendres avec moi qu'il nous étoit impossible d'établir une confiance particulière, et que nous ne pouvions suivre qu'une système de justice, mais de prévoyance et même de roideur avec vous, car nous avons eu affaire à bien des esprits différens. Je ne vous parle pas de la Corse, my Lord; l'on ne peut pas contester que ni notre traité avec Gênes, ni la possession de la Corse par la France, puisse intéresser justement l'Angleterre; nous vous avons communiqués la traité, mais vous sentez bien que si nous avions eu affaire au ministère qui avoit fait la paix, la traité auroit été fait avec lui avant que de l'être avec Gênes. M'auriez-vous conseillé d'avoir cette confiance dans my Lord Shelburne, que l'on me mande chaque semaine d'avoir été renvoyé? Quand le traité a été fait et l'opération décidé nous avons pensé que si vous vouliez la guerre, la Corse vous serviroit de prétexte; et je vous avoue que prétexte 1768.

1768. pour prétexte j'aime autant celui-là que celui de la Mer du Sud. Il est plus à votre portée ; il étoit d'ailleurs intéressant pour nous sans vous nuire positivement d'occuper la Corse ; nous en avons trouvé un moyen honnête, et nous avons dit si l'Angleterre veut la guerre il veut autant l'avoir cette année que l'année prochaine ; si elle ne la veut pas et que son ministère prenne consistance nous lui ferons connoître nos intentions pacifiques et très pacifiques, et nous chercherons à établir la confiance. Voilà, my Lord, tout notre système ; nous craignons également aussi que nos alliés la guerre de terre et de mer ; nous ferons l'impossible pour l'éviter raisonablement sans sacrifices et sans bassesses, car nous sommes glorieux, parceque nous avons été battus ; si vous êtes, my Lord, à la tête du ministère de votre pays, ou avez la principale influence, je m'engage de vous dire toujours la vérité, et sur tout de vous marquer la confiance qui vous est due de ma part à tant de titres. Monsieur de Chatelet, qui part dans peu de jours, sera autorisé à vous parler, my Lord, avec la même confiance : il a toute la mienne, et quand vous jugerez à-propos, vous pouvez sans crainte vous ouvrir à lui ; il vous parlera, my Lord, de mon attachement pour vous ; c'est la commission la plus douce que je puisse lui donner que celle de me rappeller à votre souvenir, et de vous marquer la considération avec laquelle

J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c.

CHOISEUL.*

* The unhappy fate of the Corsicans excited almost as much

COPY OF MY DRAFT TO M. DE CHOISEUL. 1768.

à Londres, ce 1er Dec., 1768.

Monsieur,

Je n'ai reçu la lettre dont vous m'avez honorée, en datte du 13me Octobre dernier, qu'après mon retour de Bath en cette ville, quand M. François me la remis en main propre le 19me du mois passé. J'espère que vous me ferez la justice de croire, M. le Duc, que la vous rappellant à mon souvenir sera toujours, comme il a toujours été, une circonstance très agréable pour moi; et quoique l'occasion qui est la cause présente de l'importunité que je vous donne actuellement ne me l'est pas, néanmoins je me flatte que la rupture de la paix entre nos deux nations que je considère comme V. E. *notre enfant commun*, n'est pas tant à craindre que vous la supposéz.

On ne vous a pas mal informé, M. le Duc, que j'avois exprimé à un de nos amis communs la défiance que j'avois conçu des intentions de votre cour sur la maintien de la paix, et des risques que je prévoyois elle couroit d'être rompue par votre entreprise sur la Corse; et même je prends la liberté de vous avouér que, comme je vous suis personellement très attaché, je vous voyois avec

indignation in England as we have witnessed in our days on account of the Poles. The Duke of Grafton in his MSS. Memoirs, states, that but for the indiscreet language of Lord Mansfield, whilst at Paris, during the negotiations between the English and French governments on the subject, he thinks the Duc de Choiseul would have yielded to the representations of Lord Rochford, and abandoned the expedition.

1768. regret impliqué dans une affaire qui pouvoit avoir des suites fâcheuses, et qui fourniroit peut-être à vos ennemis une occasion de blamer votre conduite, et de vous reprocher le danger au quel vous exposiez ce cher enfant, *la Paix*, qui nous avoit tant couté même avant que de naître, et que nous devions tant chérir ; vous voyez, M. le Duc, que je me sers avec vous de la même franchise que vous m'avez toujours connue, et que vous avez tenue réciproquement vis-à-vis de moi. Vous me dites, comme Ministre, que vous seriez en France au désespoir d'avoir la guerre. Je ne puis vous parler que comme particulier, et de bonne foi je crois vous pouvoir assurer que nos Ministres pensent de même ici, et qu'ils souhaitent ardemment de la conserver *sans bassesses et sans sacrifices*. Le Ministère actuel du Roi semble à présent être si bien affermi, que ni *un esprit de parti*, *une fougue du peuple*, ni *un intérêt Ministeriel*, ne peuvent nous replonger dans le malheur d'une guerre avec nos voisins, vû la sagesse et la modération du Roi et l'esprit pacifique de ses Ministres, qui par devoir et par conscience se croireroient toujours obligés de co-opérer aux désirs de leur Maître.

Il faut avouer, M. le Duc, que les variations continuelles de notre Ministère pendant cinq ans ont pu rendre l'établissement d'une confiance *particulière* entre les deux nations impossible; mais comme il y a toute raison de croire que cette difficulté ne subsistera plus, j'espère qu'on tachera de part et d'autre à la faire renaître, qui indubi-

tablement sera le vrai moyen de perpétuer la paix pour bien des années, en observant réligieusement les articles des différents traités qui subsistent entre les deux nations, en n'empiétant sur le droit de l'une ou de l'autre, et en ne donnant des jalousies réciproques par l'agrandissement de territoire. N'y aura-t-il pas moyen, mon cher Duc, d'applanir cette difficulté, en trouvant quelque prétexte honorable pour retirer vos troupes de l'Isle de Corse ? 1768.

Vous me faites grand plaisir, M. le Duc, en me marquant la confiance que vous avez en M. de Chatelet : je lui parlerai toujours en ce qui vous regarde avec la confiance et la franchise que vous me connoissez d'avoir, et je serai ravi de pouvoir lui être utile en toute façon, comme votre ami particulier, et comme l'ambassadeur du Roi que je révère et d'une nation que j'estime autant que la France.

Avant que de conclure permettez moi, mon cher M. le Duc, de vous assurer du parfait attachement que je conserverai toute ma vie pour vous et pour toute votre famille, et de la considération distinguée avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être,

&c. &c.

1769. MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

(Extracts.) Pay Office, 11th April, 1769.

Yesterday Lord North opened his budget in the Committee of Ways and Means; and in the four-and-twenty years that I have sat in Parliament, in very few of which I have missed that famous day of the Sessions, I verily think I have never known any of his predecessors acquit themselves so much to the satisfaction of the House. He stated the situation of this country, both comparatively with respect to that of France, and abstractedly by itself, its trade, its revenue, and its credit, together with the resources in case it should be forced into a war, which he declared he thought to be at a great distance.

I say, he went through these several heads in a most masterly manner. Grenville laboured at a reply, and cavilled at the most immaterial parts of Lord North's observations. He did it without any force or ability and with infinite peevishness, and was very ill attended to, by about half the house who staid to hear him. No part of Lord North's state of the nation hurt him more than to see there is a man in it and in the House of Commons who shewed himself yesterday at least his equal in Finances.*

Col. Lutterell told me to day that he had gained great ground within these few days; this Roche is to stand the poll, and it is pretty much believed, that Sergeant Whitaker, will stand likewise, but Lutterell himself did not think the latter could.

* Lord North had been appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer in December, 1767, so that this may have been his first

Wednesday, 24th May, 1769. 1769.

The Middlesex petition was brought to Court to day attended by seven persons up stairs and no mob or attendance below. The man who delivered it to the King, his name is Askew: I know nothing more of him: his companions were Sergeant Glynn, an old parson, Dr. Wilson*, Prebend of Westminster, Messrs. Townshend, Sawbridge, Bellas, and one other ill-looking fellow, whose name I could not learn. His Majesty received it with proper contempt, not speaking to any one of them, but an impropriety seems to have been committed, by their being permitted to kiss the King's hand, all of them, except the old parson and Sawbridge. I imagine this mistake to be owing to the ignorance of Lord Willoughby, the Lord in Waiting, who ought to have known his business better than to present any persons with petitions to kiss hands. This is the only event of the day, but this petition having been so long in hand, I send you this note just to tell you I saw it delivered at last with my own eye.

November 10th, 1769.

Wilkes laid his damages at twenty thousand pounds, the jury have given him only four. Lord Chief Justice Wilmot, who tried the cause, behaved

elaborate speech as a financier. He subsequently acquired great credit for the clearness and neatness of his financial statements.

* He was the son of the celebrated Bishop Wilson, and published a good edition of that prelate's works. His foolish admiration of Mrs. Catherine Macaulay, with whom he subsequently quarreled, justly covered him with ridicule.

1769. with very great candour, spirit, and propriety. The mob abuse the Jury, and the '45 stock is fallen very low this evening. Lord Temple attended the Trial, where his brother George's conduct against Wilkes was displayed both by the council and evidence in the strongest terms. It will serve the two brothers for many debates between this and the 9th of January, to which day the Parliament was this day prorogued.

Lord Mayor Beckford's show yesterday was miserably attended, nobody from this end of the town but the Chancellor, who was more huzzaed by the mob even than Beckford, Lords Temple and Shelburne: but six Aldermen dined at Guildhall, and not one came to Westminster Hall with him. The Bank of England to whom he sent an invitation to dine with him, refused, and no merchants of repute in the city were there. The Duke and Duchess of Grafton are come to town and in perfect health.

SIR JOHN FIELDING TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

March, 1770.

Sir John Fielding presents his respects to his Grace the Duke of Bedford, and takes the earliest opportunity to acquaint his Grace that he was this day honoured with his generous gift of the additional ten years to the lease of his house in Bow-street, and for which he returns his warmest acknowledgments, and assures him that the satisfaction he receives on this occasion is infinitely superior to the

value of the present, for he has long had the mortification to know that he has been represented in a false light to his Grace; and a very sensible mortification it was, as he is conscious that it was impossible for any man to be more sensible of a favour conferred on his family than he was of that princely instance of generosity which his Grace showed to his late brother, Henry Fielding, or to be more attached from principles of gratitude and respect to your Grace's honour, welfare, and interest, than I have ever been, notwithstanding it has been my misfortune to be misrepresented, until my behaviour was subjected to the observations of my impartial friend Mr. Palmer, to whom I shall ever esteem myself highly indebted, should he be the happy means of convincing your Grace, from his experience of my conduct, how respectfully, gratefully, and affectionately, I have on all occasions endeavoured to acquit myself towards his Grace the Duke of Bedford, to whom I have a real pleasure in being obliged, and am, with unfeigned truth,

J. FIELDING.* 1769.

MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

(Extracts.) 25th April, 1770.

I am just come from the House of Commons, where Lord North has to-day opened his budget in

* Sir John Fielding had incurred the Duke's displeasure, by his irresolute conduct as a Magistrate, in the Bloomsbury Riots in 1765. He was an amiable old man, and the children of his celebrated brother were indebted to him for their support and education. One of the sons, whom he brought up to the Bar, became a police magistrate, and died some years ago. He had much of his father's wit, and was the delight of the circuit.

1770. a most masterly manner. He has given the House and the public the satisfaction of knowing that he has paid off a million and an half of the national debt in the course of the year. Nobody spoke but Grenville, who had much better have held his tongue, for he never made so bad a figure upon a day of finance in his life. It was strongly reported in the morning that Wilkes intended to come to the House to-day and claim his seat; but we had no such event, and the town is as quiet as if Wilkes was in the King's Bench again. No opposition will be made to Sir Robert Bernard's being chose for Westminster, which I think at this time is a very wise measure.

I was at Court this morning, but I have no news to send you.

Six o'clock, Monday, May 14. 1770.

Having many people to dine with me who are not Members of the House of Lords, I could make them wait no longer, or else I was sorry to leave your Grace's house whilst they were debating a mad motion of the mad Earl of Chatham's — no other than an address from that House to the King to dissolve the Parliament. I staid however long enough to hear, I think, the very best speech I ever heard in my life, which was the Duke of Grafton's reply to Chatham; a very memorable part of which was, the most solemn declaration that a man can make in public — never to act again in public business with Lord Chatham.

Pay Office, May 21st, 1770. 1770.

The Lord Mayor comes to St. James's with his repeated insolence on Wednesday. Was it not for those embers of the late Middlesex blaze, we should not know there was a discontent in the kingdom. Wilkes seems to be so glad to get out of limbo, that he is become a peaceful citizen and a diligent magistrate. One thing which contributes to his being so, I take to be his having too much sense to go to jail for the sake of the opposition, who were always foolishly endeavouring to separate the cause from the man, as they affected to distinguish, without finding out that he alone had all the popularity they were struggling to obtain. Her Majesty still puts off blessing us with another heir to the imperial crown of these realms, of which we are in hourly expectation.

Pay Office, 23rd May, 1770.

I am just come from Court, where the insolence of Beckford has exceeded all his or the City's past exploits. The Remonstrance was read by the Town Clerk, to which the King read a very proper answer; and then, very much, I believe, to his Majesty's surprise, as well as of every body else, my Lord Mayor made a speech, vindicating the citizens from any impertinent intentions towards the King, and violently arraigning those ministers who should endeavour to prejudice his royal mind against the

1770. City. This is the first attempt ever made to hold a colloquy with the King by any subject, and is indecent to the highest degree. There were very few Aldermen attended, and not great numbers of the Common Council: the rabble was of the very lowest sort, and no mobbing. It is said this business of remonstrating is to go on once a month all the summer; but I don't believe it. It will have much effect, or be much followed from other parts of the kingdom. The King, at his levee, asked me much after your state of health, and really expressed himself with much anxiety about you. I enclose your Grace a copy of the King's answer, and beg my best compliments to the Duchess.

Pay Office, Thursday, 12th July, 1770

I am just come from Court, which though not crowded like a birth-day, as this day se'night, was very full for this time of the year, and in so remarkable a fine summer as the present. The only phenomenon there was Tom Tilbury *, who is tired of his Hebrew and his retirement, and is come to take a house, and live in London. He had an audience yesterday of the King, which politicians may think in the month of July may portend something ominous to the present administration, but I don't hear that he is yet sent upon any political errand, or that he was *sent for* to town. He looks as well as ever I saw him, and told me that

* Lord Camden.

he is so; perhaps he may think himself well enough to take the great seal again; but I have no faith in his having it. He enquired after your Grace's health, as did the Duke of Newcastle and many others. I saw Lord Weymouth and Lord Rochford, but there is no news, of any kind. I trust this fine weather and Dr. Stubbe, if he is attended to, will have a speedy and beneficial effect upon you, and shall be very much and grievously disappointed, if I don't find you upon your legs again, when I have the honour of paying my next visit to Woburn. 1770.

I am, &c.

RICHARD RIGBY.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO ROBERT PALMER, Esq.

Bath, Nov. 26th, 1770.

Sir,

I have just received your letter with its most melancholy enclosures, and I herewith send you indorsed my draft on Messrs. Child and Co. for £500 for the present use of the sufferers at Thorney.* Let frosts come or not, a communication must be endeavoured to be kept open with Peterborough, otherwise we should be in danger of famine. If more money is wanting, I shall be able when I come to Town, to let you have it,

* A sudden flood had swept away the Fen embankments, and inundated a large extent of country, causing a great loss of property and much individual misery.

1770. but great economy must be used in proper provision for the poor and needy, who must first be supplied before any thing else be thought of. I can by no means think of taking in any of the breaches while this uncertain weather continues. The care of the poor and their stock is the thing first to be thought of.

Bath, Nov. 27th, 1770.

Sir,

I believe the best application of some part of the money I sent you yesterday, will be to clothe some of the poor and miserable children who have escaped out of the cottages, almost naked, during this cold and dreary season, therefore some blanketing and coarse clothing will be the best things for some of the money to be laid out upon. I have ordered what I have already made up at Woburn, to be sent to Thorney, to be immediately distributed by Mr. Wing.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD.

The above is almost the last letter of the Duke of Bedford preserved at Woburn. Not having derived any benefit from the Bath waters, he returned home, to use his own words, "in a very decrepit state." Paralysis and blindness had indeed made all exertion painful to him, but his spirit wonderfully

supported him under this severe trial. He evinced the same lively interest in the fortunes of his friends, especially of those who most needed his assistance; and so late as the 25th of December he addressed an earnest appeal to Lord North in behalf of a gentleman who had long faithfully served him as his secretary. Nor was his attachment to rural pursuits less lasting. He continued his usual entries of agricultural and other business done or to be done on his property up to the 4th of January, — that being only eleven days previous to his decease, which took place on the 15th of the same month, in the 61st year of his age. 1770.

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